

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

Permanent WRAP URL:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/81400>

Copyright and reuse:

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

FILMS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA
1987 – 2014:
REPRESENTATIONS OF ‘THE RAINBOW’

by

Derilene Marco

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Film and Television Studies

University of Warwick, Department of Film and
Television Studies

January 2016

CONTENTS

	Page
List of Illustrations	i
Glossary	ii
Acknowledgements	vi
Declaration	vii
Abstract	viii
 Introduction	 1
 Chapter One – Review of Literature	
Introduction	14
<u>Part One</u>	
1.1 ‘South Africanese’, ‘South African-ness’ and the Challenge of Representation: New and Old Terms	16
1.2 South African Cinema: Definitions, Histories and Possibilities	22
1.3 ‘Rainbow Nation’ Cinema: A National Cinema?	23
1.4 South Africa: Post-colonial and/or Post-apartheid	33
 <u>Part Two</u>	
Defining Cinemas, Nations and ‘Structures of Feeling’	37
 <u>Part Three</u>	
3.1 Memory and Trauma in South African Films	50

3.2 Memory and Trauma Studies: Perspectives and Theoretical Points	55
3.2.1 Trauma Cinema, 'Acting Out' and 'Working Through'	58
3.2.2 Trauma in films	61
Conclusion	64
 Section One	 66
 Chapter Two: On the Brink of Freedom:	
<i>A Dry White Season, Cry Freedom and Mapantsula</i>	
Introduction	67
<u>Part One:</u>	
White and Black Anti-Apartheid Masculinities	
In <i>Cry Freedom</i> and <i>A Dry White Season</i>	72
 <u>Part Two:</u>	
<i>Mapantsula</i> : A Black Perspective Anti-Apartheid Film, the Case of Panic, the 'Tsotsi'	91
 <u>Part Three:</u>	
The Women of <i>Cry Freedom</i> and <i>A Dry White Season</i>	101
3.1 The Afrikaner Women of <i>A Dry White Season</i> and Melanie, the Outsider	102

3.2 Defiance and the Joint Struggle of Women in <i>Cry Freedom</i>	110
Conclusion	115

Section Two	116
--------------------	-----

Chapter Three: Memory, ‘Ubuntu’ and Forgiveness in Films about The Truth And Reconciliation

Commission

Introduction	117
---------------------	-----

South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission	126
--	-----

Part One:

The Truth Shall Set You Free and ‘Full Disclosure’ in

<i>In My Country</i> and <i>Red Dust</i>	133
--	-----

<i>Red Dust</i>	133
-----------------	-----

<i>In My Country</i>	141
----------------------	-----

Part Two:

‘Acting Out’, Forgiveness and Revenge: *Forgiveness* and

<i>Zulu Love Letter</i>	150
-------------------------	-----

<i>Forgiveness</i>	150
--------------------	-----

<i>Zulu Love Letter</i>	164
-------------------------	-----

Conclusion	174
-------------------	-----

Chapter Four: Shame, Guilt and the Relevance of

White Men in Post-Apartheid: *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid*

Introduction	176
---------------------	-----

Guilt and Shame in *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid*

<i>Disgrace</i>	185
-----------------	-----

<i>Skoonheid</i>	194
------------------	-----

Rape in <i>Disgrace</i> and <i>Skoonheid</i>	205
--	-----

<i>Disgrace</i>	207
-----------------	-----

<i>Skoonheid</i>	215
------------------	-----

Conclusion	223
-------------------	-----

Section Three	225
----------------------	-----

Chapter Five: Violent Masculinities and Young Black

Men in Post-Apartheid Films: *Hijack Stories*, *Tsotsi*,

Disgrace

Introduction	229
---------------------	-----

<i>Hijack Stories</i>	234
-----------------------	-----

<i>Tsotsi</i>	247
---------------	-----

<i>Disgrace</i>	260
-----------------	-----

Conclusion	265
-------------------	-----

**Chapter Six: Rituals, Tradition and Steps Forward
in the New South Africa: *Fanie Fourie's Lobola,*
Elelwani and *Disgrace***

Introduction	268
<i>Fanie Fourie's Lobola</i> : Negotiating New Traditions	273
<i>Elelwani</i> : the Burden of Being a Young, Free Woman	288
<i>Disgrace</i> and Lucy's Rainbow Womb	302
Conclusion	309
Conclusion	311
Bibliography	321
Filmography	340

List of illustrations

	Page
Figure 2.1 – Panic on route to Pat’s workplace in white suburb (Oliver Schmitz, 1988)	95
Figure 2.2 – Shattered window at Mrs Bentley’s house, <i>Mapantsula</i>	96
Figure 2.3 – Shattered window in flashback, <i>Mapantsula</i>	97
Figure 3.1 – Anna Malan and Langston Whitfield in first confrontation about TRC, <i>In My Country</i> (John Boorman, 2004)	142
Figure 3.2 – Media arrive in the TRC bus for the first hearing, <i>In My Country</i>	142
Figure 3.3 – Arrival of crowds at the first hearing in the film, <i>In My Country</i>	143
Figure 3.4 – Daniel’s comrades: The ‘Rainbow Nation’ trio, <i>Forgiveness</i> (Ian Gabriel, 2004)	160
Figure 3.5 – Daniel’s family at his grave, <i>Forgiveness</i>	161
Figure 4.1 – Before orgy, <i>Scoonheid</i> (Oliver Hermanus, 2011)	201
Figure 4.2 – After orgy scene shot 1, <i>Scoonheid</i>	202
Figure 4.3 – After orgy scene shot 2, <i>Scoonheid</i>	202
Figure 5.1 – Zama after having landed the role of ‘Bra Biza’, <i>Hijack Stories</i> (Oliver Schmitz, 2001)	245
Figure 5.2 – Tsotsi and his friends in opening scene, <i>Tsotsi</i> (Gavin Hood, 2005)	248
Figure 5.3 Tsotsi looking back at his friends while his body remains forward, facing the township, <i>Tsotsi</i>	249
Figure 6.1 – Elelwani with her mother, <i>Elelwani</i> (Ntshavheni wa Luruli, 2012)	300
Figure 6.2 – Elelwani as she leaves her parents homestead, <i>Elelwani</i>	300
Figure 6.3 – David looking at Petrus, <i>Disgrace</i> (Steve Jacobs, 2008)	307

GLOSSARY

Apartheid

Era of enforced and legalised separate racial development in South Africa between 1948 and 1994. Purposefully written with a small 'a' throughout the thesis.

Post-apartheid

The era from 1994 through to the present after the first democratic elections were held in South Africa on 27 April 1994.

Rainbow Nation

Term used to describe South Africans after the end of apartheid. The term suggests that the population, constituted of different ethnicities and races, is united in its diversity.

Askari

A black person who fought against apartheid (often part of one of the resistance movements like the African National Congress – ANC) but who was co-opted by the apartheid security police force to act as an informant. Often blackmailed or somehow coerced into a position in which they needed to provide information to the apartheid security police.

Boer

Literally "farmer" in Afrikaans. In South Africa, a derogatory term used by Black people during apartheid to identify a white Afrikaans speaking person of any kind, i.e. a police officer or an ordinary woman citizen. Although the term is still used, it is not as common in everyday parlance and no longer holds the same fear.

Born-frees

People who were born after 1990 but usually refers specifically to those born in and after 1994.

Braai

The word braai is Afrikaans for "barbecue" or "roast". It is a common social custom in South Africa.

Coloured

A person of mixed-race heritage but with specific cultural and ethnic meaning in South Africa and different to mixed-race. The cultural grouping is linked to interracial sexual activities between slaves and indentured labourers and white settlers during colonialism. Also linked to the San and the Khoi, who are indigenous migrant communities. It was a racial category enforced by the apartheid government through the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950.

Impimpi

A Black police informant during apartheid. Similar to the term askari but not interchangeable as anyone in the community could be an impimpi.

Koeksisters

A plaited doughnut dipped in syrup. From Afrikaans *koe(k)sister*: *koek* meaning 'cake' + *sissen* 'meaning to sizzle'.

Kwaito

Kwaito is a music genre that emerged in Johannesburg, South Africa, during the 1990s. It is a variant of house music featuring the use of African sounds and beats.

Mixed race

This is a relatively new and growing racial category in South Africa which refers to the mixed race offspring of parents of two different races.

Moffie

Refers to an effeminate male or male homosexual (derogatory term), or transvestite.

Toyitoyi

A physical action which expresses defiance and protest. It involves raising ones knees and arms held in fists. Commonly seen in anti-apartheid marches.

Tsotsi

Most easily translated as gangster or thug but has additional connotations in black townships in South Africa.

Ubuntu

The term ubuntu is used as part of an African proverb: umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu, to impart the idea that we are all connected via our humanity. Translated, the phrase means, 'I am what I am because of who we all are'.

Black

References all non-white citizens of South Africa. Used with a capital 'B' in this thesis when discussing non-white characters unless otherwise indicated.

black

References the apartheid racial category, black Africans, enforced by the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950. Used in parts of the thesis.

Manse

A term which means South but which is colloquially used as a direct reference to South Africa.

'Kaffir'

A derogatory and highly offensive racial term that was used for and to Black people during apartheid. The term could be equated to the use of the word "nigger" in the U.S context.

Coconut

The term 'coconuts' suggests that one is Black on the outside but white on the inside, or culturally 'white'. It is also a term that references wealthy, young Black South Africans who grew up middle class and who are able to access certain things that other young Black South Africans cannot. It is sometimes used along with the term **Black Diamonds**. Although related, the terms are not always interchangeable.

Afrikaner

A term used to describe Afrikaans-speaking whites in South Africa. These identities were/ are often associated with conservative Calvinist values and the protection of a kind of ethnicity within South African whiteness that makes an Afrikaner distinct from a white English person, for example.

Afrikanerdom

A term that describes an Afrikaner person's culture and values. During apartheid it was the cultural group which was to be protected and which was blessed by God. The Dutch Reformed Church supported apartheid and was the stronghold of Afrikanerdom, as it was a culture protected by God.

‘Madam’ / ‘Missus’

The terms are used interchangeably and reference a white housewife. Often a term used by Black domestic workers about the owner of the house.

Shebeen

An illegal place to buy and consume alcohol in the township during apartheid. They still exist today in many townships around the country.

Stoep

Afrikaans word meaning front porch.

Acknowledgements

The journey of this thesis was more than I could ever have imagined when I started in 2011. I am so grateful for the love, kindness, generosity of heart and mind that I have experienced during this period.

Thank you to Charlotte Brunsdon for your patience and guidance. You have taught me how important it is to acknowledge hard work, realise mistakes and, in spite of it all, reassess with patience before one just keeps going. This is something I will keep with me always. From you I have also learned the value in acknowledging that many things are challenging and that making it through them is, in itself, no small feat. Your unwavering support has been incredible and I feel honoured to have been under your guidance.

Thanks to the Warwick Film and Television Department for support throughout my studies, especially during my period of illness and with regards to my return to the University Of Warwick.

Thank you to The University of Warwick for a Chancellor's Award, which made it possible to undertake my studies. Thank you also to the generosity of the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust that supported me throughout my studies and through whom it was possible to return to England after my period of illness. I am deeply grateful for the continual trust and support in my project.

So much of this thesis is because of the continuous love of so many and a true reflection of my life. To all of you, thank you. To my colleagues and friends in the department: Ivan Girina, Isabel Rhodes, Nike Jung, Greg Frame. Thank you for the good times, the hard times, the laughs. I hold you so very dear. Thank you to my friends and family, many who consistently provided intellectual and emotional support from near and far. You all make up the puzzle pieces of my heart, some of you literally holding my hand even in distance... Finally, the moment is here! To all of you, thank you: Kathleen Ebersohn-Khuvutlu, Jenna-Lee Marco, Jody Felton, Hannah Allan, Petra Adams, Antoinette Engel, Tracey Marks, Sharlene Khan, Fouad Asfour, Khwezi Mkhize, Khwezi Gule, Seun Olatoye, Philippe Le Geoff, Jen Webb, Patricia Hendricks, Regina Isaacs, Colleen Marco, Yana Abrahams, Abebe Zegeye, Pumla Gqola, Bhekizizwe Peterson, Henriette Gunkel, Gabi Ngcobo, Lyn Ossome, Portia Malatjie. To my final stretch crew, I would not have made it without you: Basani Baloyi, Noma Masina, Bérénice Kafui. You've made the end so sweet.

And to Kemang Wa Lehulere, for all the many times this crazy undertaking has gotten our plans and dreams and the 'everyday' into hot water, thank you for the love and support. Thank you for the home, the bolognaise and the beautiful memories over the years.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, without whom I would not be the person I am today, and this thesis would not be at all. You instilled in me a spirit of possibility, belief and tenacity of heart and soul. What you have done and continue to be for me goes beyond the duties attached to parenting... You're incredible. Thank you can never suffice but in the meantime, Dad, here's to staying focussed!

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work. It has not previously been submitted for examination at another institution. The thesis does not contain material from prior work, nor for another degree at the University of Warwick or any other institution.

Abstract

The thesis analyses representations of the 'Rainbow Nation' and dominant post-apartheid themes in South African films between 1987 and 2014. The term South African films or cinema is used to encompass films that are co-produced between South Africa and other nations, as well as films that may find their South African articulation only in content and narrative composition. Drawing on Raymond Williams' scholarship, the thesis sets out to explore whether a new structure of feeling can be identified in post-apartheid films. The thesis also engages trauma in the post-apartheid films about the 'Rainbow Nation'. In being able to identify how new South African films show and grapple with post-apartheid identities as 'acting out', 'working through' and 'making sense' of the past, the thesis concludes that post-apartheid films are in some ways critical of the past and in other ways, hopeful for the future. However, the more the country settles into its new national identities, the more variations are present in filmic representations and the more possibilities exist for seeing the complexities of post-apartheid cinema.

The thesis is divided into three sections and follows a thematic approach as well as a form of periodisation that has not been used in previous scholarship about South African cinema. Section One considers the moment before the end of apartheid in the films *A Dry White Season* (Euzhan Palcy, 1989), *Cry Freedom* (Richard Attenborough, 1987) and *Mapantsula* (Oliver Schmitz, 1988). Section Two is constituted of two chapters which focus on the representations of the end of apartheid, trauma, guilt and 'acting out' seen in the films *Red Dust* (Tom Hooper, 2004), *In My Country* (John Boorman, 2004), *Forgiveness* (Ian Gabriel, 2004), *Zulu Love Letter* (Ramadan Suleman, 2004), *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008) and *Skoonheid* (Oliver Hermanus, 2011). Section Three explores the possibility of a new structure of feeling through analysis of the representations of youth identities and coming to terms with the past in *Hijack Stories* (Oliver Schmitz, 2001), *Tsotsi* (Gavin Hood, 2005) and *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008). In the final chapter, the films *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008), *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* (Henk Pretorius, 2013) and *Elelwani* (Ntshavheni wa Luruli, 2012) are analysed to show how traditions and rituals are fashioned as important, unexpected vehicles, through which to navigate emergent post-apartheid South Africa and its identities.

INTRODUCTION

No generation speaks quite the same language as its predecessors.¹

This thesis is a sustained consideration and analysis of selected post-apartheid South African films. The thesis explores what the films do by paying specific attention to those elements that have not been critically analysed before: mainly, the complexity of post-apartheid identities of individual characters; the presence of trauma in films that grapple with the apartheid past; and finally, the consideration of post-apartheid films and individual characters, as representative of different structures of feeling. The aim of the thesis is thus to analyse and consider what has gone unnoticed in post-apartheid films before and what is so ever-present now: anger, disdain and a disappointment in the promises of 'The Rainbow'. It interrogates the cinematic realisation of the 'Rainbow Nation' and explores new, fractured post-apartheid identities through an analysis of films ranging from *A Dry White Season* (1987) to *Elelwani* (2014).

The thesis employs a thematic and periodic structure which aids thinking about apartheid and post-apartheid as specific periods of time but also as specific identities of place and race. The thesis is thus positioned in the complicated, overlapping terrain of scholarly discussions of national cinema, race and ethnicity, as well as touching on questions of representation, trauma, memory and identity. Throughout, I have tried to pay attention to what is specific to the South African situation, while also, at the same time, avoiding isolating this exploration of South African cinema from other theoretical and critical discussions. Keeping this in mind, the research questions of the thesis are:

¹ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 131.

What are the identifiable differences between anti-apartheid films made during apartheid and post-apartheid films? Do post-apartheid films contribute to post-apartheid rhetoric? If so, how is it evidenced in the films? Should post-apartheid films be considered as a national and/ or post-apartheid cinema? What are the dominant presences in post-apartheid films and what do they reveal about individual and collective post-apartheid identities and subjectivities?

The fourteenth annual Ruth First lecture was held on 17 August 2015, the anniversary of the death of journalist and anti-apartheid activist, Ruth First.² The theme, “Race: Lived Experiences and Contemporary Contestations”, was taken up by two young Black women who spoke to the challenges of race in post-apartheid South Africa. Panashe Chigumadzi’s focus was on an emergent group in South Africa, the growing Black middle class, sometimes referred to in this thesis as Black diamonds/ Black middle class but in the context of Chigumadzi’s talk, ‘coconuts’.³ The focus of her presentation was on the growing economic disparities among the Black youth of South Africa. Chigumadzi’s arguments sometimes pull against each other, seen for instance in her promotion of the use of the problematic term ‘coconuts’, while arguing for the wealthy ‘coconuts’ to take up arms with their poor Black counterparts around the country. What Chigumadzi’s talk illuminated was something beyond a growing economic (and racial) divide. It was rather, an attempt to articulate some of the sensibilities of the young Blacks who identify as coconuts and who now seek

² A version of Chigumadzi’s talk appeared in the UK’s *The Guardian*: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/24/south-africa-race-panashe-chigumadzi-ruth-first-lecture> [Accessed 5 October 2015].; A transcript and audio recording of the lecture is available on the Wits Journalism website: <http://www.journalism.co.za/projects-a-fellowships/ruth-first/> [Accessed 2 September 2015].

³ Please see glossary.

legitimate Black space for their identities. It was about a middle class struggle for relevance through an attempt at politicising a post-apartheid 'coconut' identity. The talk demonstrates that while the immediate aftermath of the end of apartheid was difficult and complex, the struggles continue to evolve and transform as 'post-apartheid-ness' (in the different identities it encompasses) continues to metamorphosise.

Although Chigumadzi does not reference films, this talk presented something that is a concern throughout the thesis, as it is an attempt at exploring and articulating what could be an emergent sensibility of the new South Africa. The speaker, herself a representative of the 'Rainbow Nation', and the films of this thesis intersect because while they present what post-apartheid was intended to be, the idyllic 'Rainbow Nation', they also intersect to illuminate some of the disgruntlements and intangible presences within the 'Rainbow Nation'.

Turning to the films, then, *Mandela, Long Walk To Freedom* (Dir: Justin Chadwick, 2013) is the most recent and arguably, one of the most important films about apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. The film premiered on the night that Mandela passed away and will for evermore be entrenched in our generational memories in a reverential way. During the South African run of the film, it grossed the highest ever box office amounts for a non-holiday film release. Some South Africans even took time off work to see the film on its day of release.⁴

Chigumadzi, and her concerns, are a direct product of Nelson Mandela's negotiations with the apartheid government and the imagined 'Rainbow' of post-apartheid South Africa. Although the government attempted to create new modes

⁴ Article about South African audiences: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25169194> [Accessed 2 December 2013].

and sites of living together in a democracy, the problems with that construction were never fully addressed. Those problems are now finding expressions in the post-apartheid youth who are not only voicing discomforts with post-apartheid official constructions but who are also, urgently demanding that the state begins to take note of the inadequacies of the 'Rainbow'. This thesis is interested in seeing how the films portray and explore issues around the complex 'Rainbow Nation'.

Although Chadwick's film is not the first film to depict Mandela, it has been lauded as exceptional because it is an adaptation of Mandela's autobiography based on his life and primarily on the twenty-seven years he spent in prison on Robben Island. However, there is room for caution and scepticism when viewing Mandela's life through this hagiographic lens. There are unanswered questions about what is excluded in the representations seen on screen, why those particular exclusions and how do these impact on viewers' perceptions of Mandela and post-1994 South Africa. In essence, the didactic nature of this film has been celebrated internationally but has in South Africa been met with a combination of knowledge of the context and the 'true' repercussions of life after 1994. This film poses questions around authorship and spectatorship such as, who constructs these 'South African' films? And, who are these films for?

More in line with challenging the 'Rainbow Nation', documentary filmmaker, Khalo Matabane embarked on a critical journey of thinking about Mandela in the documentary, *Mandela, the Myth and Me* (2014). The documentary grapples with complex questions about Mandela, his choices around the negotiations that have come to represent the end of apartheid, and the implications of this for Black people, many whose living conditions have not changed with the end of apartheid. This

mythical Mandela is significantly different to the conservative and palatable hero in Chadwick's biopic. Matabane tries to show how he, as the director and as a South African, cannot marry the unequal socio-economic reality of so many Black South Africans with the language of post-1994: freedom, 'ubuntu', forgiveness, reconciliation and equality. The primary question that Matabane asks is what happened to that radical Mandela that his grandmother told him about as a young boy. He, like the students of the Rhodes Must Fall student movement, and, to a degree, the speakers at the Ruth First Lecture, wants to know why Mandela 'sold out' through reconciliation. In each of the cases presented above, I attempt to show and contextualise some of the prevalent debates of post-apartheid, some of which, like Chadwick's biopic, revere Mandela and valorise the character and the 'Rainbow Nation', and others, of which are struggling to find ways of articulating what can be described as the irreconcilable debris of the end of apartheid.

Scholarship about South African cinema has not yet dealt exclusively with the complex representations of memory and the myth of the 'Rainbow' in post-apartheid films. Most of what exists about South African post-apartheid films is grounded in questions around the national collective identity seen in post-apartheid cinema, constantly returning to the question of whether we can call this cinema national at all, as I discuss further in the literature review. While I support the approach and value of this important body of scholarship, this thesis engages post-apartheid representations differently. The thesis departs from existing scholarship in the way it categorises the apartheid past and pays closer attention to the impact of that past on the present. The hypothesis is that post-apartheid films are representative of ineradicable manifestations of the apartheid past which are still evidenced in the present. Even though trauma is not representable, some post-apartheid films try to show the extent

of the systemic infiltration of apartheid in South Africa. Other films also try to extend beyond the trauma, posing new and important questions from and of a new generation. This thesis attempts to show how these overlapping periods in recent South African history are explored in the films.

The cinema of post-apartheid South Africa has shown me things about the processes of 'working through' of the past that I could not have anticipated. It has also shown me that some of what occurs, both in reality and in the films, can also be conceptualised against a psychoanalytic backdrop of 'acting out' alongside 'working through' in the context of trauma and therapy. The literature review which follows elaborates further on these ideas. The thesis is interested in thinking about representations of 'acting out' and 'working through' present in post-apartheid identities in the films. Post-apartheid films achieve more than just showing the 'new South Africa'. Through close critical contextualisation, the films show how 'post-apartheid-ness is' entangled in showing the changes from the apartheid past as well as the difficulties of manifesting those changes in the context and identities of the present. In addition to a consistent need to think about and reformulate how we see and imagine the past, these films are also steeped in heightened awareness about how the present came to be through the vocabulary of new nation that supports it. 'Rainbowism(s)', 'New South African-ness', 'New South African-ness', 'Rainbow Nation', 'new South Africa', 'the born frees', 'ubuntu', 'memory' and 'belonging', are all terms that curate the individual and collective identity of the new nation.⁵ Each term, when applied to the specific context of post-apartheid South Africa comes to imbibe some of that place and the specificities of the context.

⁵ Pumla, Gqola "Defining People: Analysing Power, Language and Representation in Metaphors of the New South Africa", *Transformation* 47 (2001), pp. 94 – 106.

The terms above are illustrative of the tropes in the films that form the corpus of the thesis. In the thesis, I use the descriptor Black to discuss (as the South African Constitution outlines) all non-white South Africans, although there are sections where I use other related terms mostly in a descriptive sense where the film itself emphasises something specific related to race that needed the employment of distinction within 'Black', such as 'coloured' or 'black'.⁶ The aim of the emotive terms of the new South Africa, was/ is for the ideals of this language to penetrate a previously segregated South African society so that people do not only physically reflect a multitude of colours but also that they fundamentally believe in the 'Rainbow Nation' and the collective hope that it promises. In the immediacy of the end of apartheid, South Africans were encouraged to view themselves as simultaneously unified and diverse, holding onto their own cultural heritages while putting the broader aims of national unity ahead of ethnic 'differences'.

Apartheid emphasised physical and psychological segregation and therefore post-apartheid cultural work often still employs persistent segregations (albeit altered) as a springboard. The terms formed the basis of new policies, ideologies and practices that would be mobilised, even if only superficially, if ordinary citizens could also participate in the language of democracy. Despite the official modes of putting the new South Africa into practice through the post-apartheid language, historically entrenched racial categories have not simply dissipated and class divisions are starker than ever before. The term 'Rainbow Nation' suggests that because apartheid is over, all South Africans will benefit from the new democracy. It is a celebration of diversity through the conclusion that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

⁶ Explanation of terms is in the glossary as well as on page 18 – 19 of the literature review.

What is vital to this research is to see and understand how the terms have incorporated and manifested themselves cinematically. To analyse how these terms have been realised, the form of periodisation is an important choice regarding methodology. During the research period I have paid specific attention to asking why some films show and elaborate on the context of South Africa, and others do not, even though they somehow reference apartheid or post-apartheid. The periodisation of the thesis required complex considerations and methodological choices. Hence the thesis makes distinctions but also overlaps in its primary approaches: the project adopts a critical textual approach, which incorporates analysis of how the films portray the apartheid past, and how the films represent 'Rainbow Nation' identities. The categories intersect because the changes in the country are sometimes part of the reason why new identities or shifts in identity are shown to become more present and prevalent. Employing periods also facilitates analysis about the official differences between apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Whereas analysis that focuses on shifting South African identities makes it possible to identify how the terms highlighted above have curated the post-apartheid nation predominantly through sentiment and popular rhetoric. At the intersections of these identity and national questions, I am interested in how the films consciously and unconsciously manufacture the terms of the new South Africa.

The corpus is comprised of films that represent the shifting identities of the new nation in different ways and from different vantage points. The corpus includes: *A Dry White Season* (1989), *Cry Freedom* (1987), *Mapantsula* (1987), *Forgiveness* (2004), *Zulu Love Letter* (2004), *Red Dust* (2004), *In My Country* (2004), *Skoonheid* (2011), *Disgrace* (2008), *Hijack Stories* (2001), *Tsotsi* (2004), *Elelwani* (2012) and *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* (2013). The selection reflects films which deal with collective national

and individual post-apartheid identities. The films of the corpus are also intricately concerned with the lexicon of apartheid *and* post-apartheid and each one, particularly the films of Sections Two and Three, holds a position on the 'Rainbow Nation' and the characters' place in it. Some of the films have been dealt with extensively in South African film scholarship, while others have not been engaged with at all. The combination of 'well known' and seemingly less important films also allows the thesis to explore the terrain of post-apartheid films in different ways.

This thesis's primary focus on thematic and cultural concerns of the films is also in line with funding incentives for post-apartheid cinema. Most of the films discussed in this thesis are co-funded or multi-funded, with the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) having emphasised in its mandate that it supports South African films which deal with local narratives and which show or explore the history of the country. This is a telling issue regarding post-apartheid films, as it confirms that there is definitely room and funding for films about South Africa. It also points to the implication that sometimes South African films funded through, or partly, by the NFVF, need to somehow show the country in a particular (positive) light because the NFVF is attached to the state.⁷ There are, however, a number of initiatives mobilised for film and television in South Africa, some which are specifically geared towards local products and others, like tax incentives, which are also geared towards foreign films made within the country.

⁷Chief investors in local South African film industry: National Film and Video Foundation, Industrial Development Corporation and Department of Trade and Industry: <http://www.filmandtvtransformation.org/sa-film-incentives/> [Accessed 5 October 2015].

The NFVF was formed in 1999 as a statutory body of the new government.⁸ The primary task of this organisation is to increase the number of South African films as well as the amount of previously disadvantaged people producing these films. The NFVF's biggest challenge by far is the place it needs to straddle between its economic goals and its cultural goals, both linked to the shift from apartheid to post-apartheid. The NFVF provides funding in four different areas: education and training, development funding, production funding and marketing and distribution. Since its inception, the NFVF along with the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the South African Revenue Services (SARS) have formulated incentive policies for local and foreign film productions, both for co-production films and for films in post-production.

To date, South African has co-production treaties with the following countries: Canada (1997), Italy (2003), Germany (2004), UK (2007), France (2010), New Zealand (2011) and Ireland (2012). The advantage of films or television programmes which are approved as official co-productions is that the production is considered national in each of the co-producing countries and therefore eligible to funding and benefits in either country. This also means that the film has access to two or more domestic markets. In South Africa, and for the purposes of this thesis, it also means that a film is termed a co-production but can be viewed as a film of either nation which funded the film. This raises a complexity when the cultural content is about one or the other national context, as is often the case with post-apartheid films discussed in this thesis. For the purposes of clarity, I use the term South African films throughout the thesis, except in the case of *Disgrace*. The reasons for this will be made clear in Chapter Four.

⁸<http://nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkContentID=101&ipkMenuID=25&ipkMenuID=54> [Accessed 5 October 2015].

The final section of the introduction is comprised of three parts. The first section draws on films of the late 1980s to set up the context of the political milieu right before the end of apartheid. The single chapter in this section analyses the films *A Dry White Season*, *Cry Freedom* and *Mapantsula* to see how apartheid and the history about it had begun, in this period, to be constructed in films. This chapter initiates a discussion of how racial representations aided the formation of a specific image of apartheid and anti-apartheid struggle. It is also an important chapter for contextualising what some of the changes from apartheid to 'Rainbow Nation' entailed. In the friendships between white and Black men in *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom*, I explore how these anti-apartheid films construct the main male protagonists as characters who are 'out of place' in apartheid. The chapter also explores how the women in the films hold onto a fixed, hyper-racialised construction of apartheid. The film *Mapantsula* initiates a discussion around an anti-apartheid film from a Black representative. Taken together with the first two films, and a range of scholarship about these films, the chapter is able to draw conclusions about anti-apartheid representations in films, which contextualises the end of apartheid, the transition and how the 'Rainbow Nation' comes into being. The films of Section One show what apartheid race relations were like during apartheid and this is useful for the arguments that follow.

Section Two is comprised of two chapters, chapters three and four. Chapter Three focuses on representations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and considers how representations of 'acting out' and 'working through' present possibilities for thinking about how such films might exhibit trauma. Chapter Three engages four 'TRC films' all released in 2004: *Forgiveness*, *Red Dust*, *In My Country*, *Zulu Love Letter*. This chapter presents an important shift as it takes a post-apartheid

point of departure to show the legacy of apartheid ushered in and officially facilitated by the TRC. However, while two of the films seek to show and re-create the TRC, the other two are interested in what is ignored or left behind and challenges the place and ramifications of the TRC in its narratives. Chapter Four's focus is on middle-aged post-apartheid white masculinities. I examine the presence of guilt, shame and loss of power in the characters of Francois Van Heerden in *Skoonheid* and David Lurie in *Disgrace*. Section Two thus engages the issues of dealing with the apartheid past through the tropes of forgiveness, guilt, shame, all ensconced in the TRC.

Section Three of the thesis looks at the present and the future, asking the question: Is it possible to identify an emergent structure of feeling in the youth in post-apartheid films? If so, this section asks, what are some of the characteristics of such a new sensibility seen in the films? Chapter Five continues to explore thematic concerns of post-apartheid masculine identities, except that this chapter turns from middle-aged white men to focus on representations of violent Black 'boys' or young men. This chapter considers representations of the young men in *Hijack Stories*, *Disgrace* and *Tsotsi*. Chapter Six considers representations of the young post-apartheid through a consideration of these characters engaged in rituals of unions and traditions. In films which have so far received little critical attention, the chapter considers how women like Elelwani in *Elelwani*, Lucy in *Disgrace* and Dinky in *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* are representatives of a new South Africa. The chapter also applies the same questions around an emergent sensibility to the women, and attempts to find out whether there are differences in post-apartheid race and gender identities.

As my research has progressed, in addition to the contradictions and disappointments of the promises of 'Rainbowism', I have been able to discern traces of

a rather less idealistic, more pragmatic, emergent sensibility. It is with these fragile signs of change that the thesis concludes.

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter surveys selected literature to provide a framework for thinking about films that represent narratives that concern or are contextualised in post-apartheid South Africa. Part One focuses on the primary scholarship about post-apartheid cinema and the terms and discourse around post-apartheid South Africa. Four primary texts contextualise the overlapping periods and themes that this thesis addresses: Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela's *To Change Reels* (2003), Jacqueline Maingard's *South African National Cinema* (2007), Lucia Saks' *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: the Race for Representation* (2010) and Litheko Modisane's *South Africa's Renegade Reels: the Making and Public Lives of Black-Centred Films* (2012).⁹ Maingard and Saks's texts analyse a national apartheid and post-apartheid cinema in terms of South Africa's film policies and thematic concerns such as race, gender and nationalism. Balseiro, Masilela and Modisane pay attention to the lacunae in South African cinema histories by inserting Black histories into South African film scholarship, a topic that had not received this specific kind of nuanced approach until Balseiro and Masilela's edited volume.

⁹ Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela (eds.), *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), Jacqueline Maingard, *South African National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2007), Lucia Saks, *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: The Race for Representation* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010), Litheko Modisane, *South Africa's Renegade Reels: the Making and Public Lives of Black-Centered Films* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Parts Two and Three consider different avenues of definition of and engagement with post-apartheid films, some which fall outside of the disciplinary boundaries of film scholarship. Although some of Part Two's concern is with the question of whether 'Rainbow Nation' cinema is automatically a national cinema, the intentions of the thesis are not concentrated within such a framework. The research is not expressly interested in making a claim for a national cinema, but is rather invested in trying to explore and identify what the dominant tropes of post-apartheid cinema are, locate their animus and consider what is birthed from the representations of 'Rainbow identities' in post-apartheid films. In order to explore these issues, I incorporate Raymond Williams's theoretical and methodological approach, put forward in the concepts of 'residual', 'dominant' and 'emergent' structures of feeling. The literature draws on Cultural Studies scholarship more broadly to ascertain whether it is possible to identify an emergent structure of feeling in post-1994 films. I also highlight some of the key elements in the extensive discussion of national cinemas and other associated definitions, like small nations, transnational and world cinemas. Part Three addresses trauma and memory in cinema studies.

Part One

1.1 'South Africanese', 'South African-ness' And The Challenge Of Representation: New And Old Terms

The films analysed in this thesis are mainly products of the post-1994 new South Africa. "New-South-Africanese" is comprised of multiple heterogeneous discourses, writes Pumla Gqola.¹⁰ Drawing on Stuart Hall's scholarship about identity, Gqola unpacks the meaning of the 'Rainbow Nation', a term that became synonymous with post-apartheid South African national identity. Adam Habib describes the use of the metaphor in electioneering as a tool of the political elite, who use the term "cloaked in patriotism" to appeal to the masses.¹¹ Critics are challenged to expose the underlying problematics with the term and its use value precisely because of this patriotic appeal. The "in vogue" term of post-apartheid South Africa is "Rainbow Nation", writes Habib.¹² Scholarship by Gqola and Habib and others unpacks the manifestation of the metaphor "Rainbow Nation" and bring to light the many histories and narratives that are excluded by the forgiveness project of 1994 and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Such scholarship departs from anti-apartheid scholarships, which engaged with what Njabulo Ndebele termed "resistance art" and freedom from apartheid in order to assess how post-apartheid art and culture is advanced beyond "Rainbow Nation" narratives.¹³

¹⁰ Gqola, "Defining People", p. 95.

¹¹ Adam Habib, "South Africa – The Rainbow Nation and Prospects for Consolidating Democracy", *African Journal of Political Science* 2:2 (1997), p. 15.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Njabulo Ndebele, *South African Literature and Culture: Rediscovery of the Ordinary* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).

Like the films *Cry Freedom* and *A Dry White Season*, which were released as the world anticipated the demise of apartheid, scholars like Njabulo Ndebele and Albie Sachs were engaged in questions around what it means to be South African and what it *would* mean to be South African in a post-apartheid era. As though in answer to scholarly speculations, Archbishop Desmond Tutu offered the term “rainbow children of God”, an analogy that Gqola suggests “...foregrounded his belief in the ability of all South Africans to co-exist in spite of and because of difference”.¹⁴ It is in the term’s progression into what Gqola describes as “mainstream discourse of new South Africanese” that it took on problematic connotations in the following ways:

- a) the label ‘rainbow nation’ grew to be synonymous with ‘South Africa’.
- b) the invocation of the collective ‘rainbow nation’ stifles rigorous discussions of power differentials;
- c) the inherent contradiction contained in the label superficially emphasises difference but prevents its discussion.¹⁵

Gqola’s emphasis is on the danger of the ‘Rainbow’ – an emphasis which Grace Musila identifies as “the cracks in the rainbow”¹⁶. Musila’s “Laughing at the Rainbow’s Cracks?” engages questions of race relations by thinking about how these relations are “...an obvious, albeit under-acknowledged truism”¹⁷. By paying particular attention to how these slippages and cracks in the rainbow are evident in humour in South Africa, Musila engages the comedic works of young stand-up comedians as well as other public comedic features on national television: one advert and another an unplanned outburst in a live interview. One unplanned public outburst on national television

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 98 – 99.

¹⁶ Grace A. Musila, “Laughing at the Rainbow’s Cracks? Blackness, Whiteness and the Ambivalences of South African Stand-Up Comedy” in Ebenezer Obadare and Wendy Willems (eds.), *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in the 21st Century* (Suffolk and New York: James Currey, 2014), p. 147.

¹⁷ Ibid.

resulted in the 'Rainbow' public finding an 'acceptable' incident to laugh at the employment of bad grammar by a black man and an Afrikaner man.

On 6 April 2011, South African television audiences watched an unscripted flare-up between e.tv anchor Chris Maroleng, Afrikaner *Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) Secretary General Andre Visagie, and the political analyst Lebohang Pheko during a live current affairs programme on race relations in South Africa, following the brutal murder of outspoken right-wing AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche... What stood out about the episode was not that Visagie and Maroleng almost came to blows on live television; nor that Visagie walked off the set in anger as the cameras rolled and the nation watched. The incident was unique in terms of the subsequent humour the South African public inscribed into Maroleng's agitated statement to Visagie: 'Don't touch me *on* my studio!' to which Visagie repeatedly shouted: 'I will touch you *on* your studio!' The grammatical error in the preposition 'on' had the country in stitches....¹⁸

The above incident is as much part of South African-ese as is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Like Musila, I am interested in what the rainbow narratives of post-apartheid films exclude and include. Carli Coetzee theorises these expressions of post-apartheid "accentedness" in her monograph *Accented Futures*, which conceptualises the ways in which new South Africans are able to articulate themselves (or not) and their new identities. Coetzee argues against translation "...because accent (rather than translation) provides...a framework that allows for keeping apartheid's insistence on skin and surface".¹⁹ Coetzee's mixed methodology relies on interviews, observation, textual analysis of artworks and literature and a self-reflexive account of her own (white) "accentedness".

In an early post-apartheid attempt at theorising new nation culture and art, Carli Coetzee and Sarah Nuttall's edited volume, *Negotiating the Past*, attempts to answer questions about how the past might be remembered through different cultural

¹⁸ Grace A. Musila, "Laughing at the Rainbow's Cracks? Blackness, Whiteness and the Ambivalences of South African Stand-Up Comedy" in Ebenezer Obadare and Wendy Willems (eds.), *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in The 21st Century* (Suffolk and New York: James Currey, 2014), p. 147.

¹⁹ Carli Coetzee, *Accented Futures: Language Activism and the Ending of Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013), p. xii.

iterations. They express their interest in trying to understand, “which memories are privileged, and what are the loci for the production of memory”.²⁰ Similarly, Abebe Zegeye and Richard C. Harris’s edited volume is interested in how the post-apartheid media represent and shape new South African identities.²¹ In both instances, motifs about ‘distressed’ new identities and culture are employed in different ways and sometimes recycled, to show the processes of ‘working through’ and sometimes, ‘acting out’, concepts which I elaborate on in Part Three.

Post-apartheid cultural identities are indelibly locked into a discourse about naming, in particular racial naming and definition inscribed in the new descriptors. As Gqola has argued, the rainbow is suggestive of “the rain that is over and little or nothing remains to be done”.²² Taken as part of ‘Rainbow Nation’ discourse, “rainbowism serves to reinforce notions of a united nation”.²³ Nevertheless, possibilities for shifts have taken place and continue to, for example in relation to the racial terms b/Black and c/Coloured. Such decisions around naming in post-apartheid South Africa are part of a decisive choice not to automatically employ apartheid terminology, and an approach of this thesis except in cases where the films invite other terms or descriptions.

Beyond official South Africanese, I am interested in representations of new cultural identities which may not yet be nameable. In this sense, I draw from Stuart Hall’s formulation of cultural identity, which argues that “[c]ultural identity...is a

²⁰ Carli Coetzee and Sarah Nuttall, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 1.

²¹ Abebe Zegeye and Richard C. Harris (eds.), *Media, Identity and the Public Sphere in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill, 2003).

²² Gqola, “Defining People”, p. 100.

²³ Ibid.

matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'”²⁴. Cultural identity “belongs”, as Hall reminds us, “to the future as much as to the past”.²⁵ It is in understanding this, as Hall argues, that we can truly begin to understand the trauma of the colonial experience, when “[t]hey had the power to make us see and experience ourselves as ‘Other’”.²⁶ Following Hall, I seek to scrutinise the case study films for the complex and contradictory residually and newly racialised categories of identity which are obscured by the notion of ‘Rainbow Nation’. In trying to remain aware of the residual and new meanings of racial terms, I clarify how I use certain terms throughout the thesis. I use the term Black (capitalised B) with reference to any non-white characters identified in the films. In some instances I may intersperse this Black Consciousness use of the term ‘Black’ to describe specific black ethnic identities for reasons that are relevant to the analysis and context of the film(s). The use of the term ‘black’, with a small ‘b’ refers to African black people, the term ‘coloured’ refers to historically mixed race people, who in South Africa represent an ethnic group mostly found in the Western Cape.

The culturally specific term is not to be confused with the term ‘mixed race’, which is a relatively new term in South Africa, as interracial marriages and sex were illegal during apartheid. ‘Mixed race’ South Africans now come to represent a first generation mix between two different races. Indian people, mainly found on the East coast of South Africa are of Indian descent and the term ‘white’ references white South African unless stated otherwise. I also use the term apartheid with a lower case ‘a’ to subvert histories of power located in the term.

²⁴ Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation” in Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara and Ruth H. Lindeborg (eds.), *Black British Cultural Studies*, p. 212.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 213.

The terms of the new South Africa, or “South Africanese”, form part of a contentious multi-faceted moment that extends into the present. In this nomenclature, representations of post-apartheid South Africa remain in dialogue with Sachs’s 1989 question: What does it mean to be South African? Although the possible answer has shifted since 1994, it still remains messy and complex. Films about post-apartheid SA grapple with various representations that show the power of this new language and identity of South African-ness, even when unaware of their cultural validity and power. Drawing on Sachs’ postulations about cultural freedom as South Africa approached the end of apartheid, Ashraf Jamal offers this apt critique of the ‘Rainbow Nation’:

The abandonment of Sachs’ leading question in the name of positivism and instrumentality is indicative not of an on-going quest for freedom, but of the derailment of this quest. That freedom in South Africa was largely ceded and bequeathed, rather than seized, all the more accentuates the diminishment and critical occlusion which marked the process of, and quest for, freedom. Freedom, then, becomes a hand-out and not a reckoning; a guaranteed idea and not a fraught and avidly awaited actuality... If Sachs’ paper remains pertinent (...) it is because it contains a critical question that no instrumental or opportunistic vision, including Sachs’s own, has successfully been able to suppress. It is a question that pertains as much to the imaginary of nationhood as it does to the silenced majority who huddle under the name *South Africa*.²⁷

This thesis seeks to explore the answers to Sachs’s question; answers that I argue can be gleaned by examining post-apartheid cinema.²⁸

²⁷ Ashraf Jamal, *Predicaments of Culture in South Africa* (Pretoria: Pretoria University Press, 2005), p. 4 – 5.

²⁸ Albie Sachs’ paper referenced in Jamal’s quote can be found in the following: Albie Sachs, “Preparing Ourselves for Freedom” in Ingrid de Kok and Karen Press (eds.), *Spring is Rebellious* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990).

1.2 South African Cinema: Definitions, Histories and Possibilities

It is not easy to define South African cinema. In the first instance, there are a number of historical considerations to take into account – such as the periodic changes between colonial cinema, apartheid cinema and post-apartheid cinema. Secondly, with each of these eras, the country experienced an increase in racial projects enforced by the state, which led to a country primarily defined by racial and consequently, social inequality. A discussion about cinema in this context is not devoid of similar considerations. This section explores the primary scholarship about post-apartheid South African cinema while taking into account some apartheid era scholarship.

Thelma Gutsche's 1972 *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895 – 1940* is a seminal text about the social context and importance of colonial cinema.²⁹ Not until 1989, did another extensive monograph appear again. *The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Cinema*, by Keyan Tomaselli, opens with an assertion that the book was published as apartheid South Africa received unprecedented challenges from within and outside up until the end of the regime.³⁰ Scholarship by Martin Botha and Tomaselli engages colonial and apartheid cinema, taking as its focus the various ways which films produced during the apartheid era functioned as a cinema for whites, while focusing, too, on how films function for Blacks functioned under apartheid.³¹ Both critical works also consider the role and presence of apartheid in the film industry and briefly engage with anti-apartheid cinema.

²⁹ Thelma Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895 – 1940* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1972).

³⁰ Keyan Tomaselli, *The Cinema Of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film* (London: Routledge, 1989).

³¹ Martin Botha (ed.), *Marginal Lives and Painful Pasts: South African Cinema after Apartheid* (Cape Town: Genugtig Publishers, 2007)., Keyan Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*.

Although such scholarship has been instrumental in understanding the context and developments of film in South Africa, the focus of this thesis is predominantly on post-apartheid films. Four key texts engage explicitly with the relationship between apartheid and post-apartheid cinema in South Africa. This section highlights their engagements with primary themes of the transition between apartheid and post-apartheid such as nation, identity, and race. This study benefits significantly from these four books which focus specifically on South African cinema.

1.3 'Rainbow Nation' Cinema: A National Cinema?

According to Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela, to understand film culture in South Africa is to understand the emergence of modernity.³² The chapters in this edited volume build on this position, and look to draw out a Black presence in film culture in South Africa. Of the scholarship that existed when the book was published, none had engaged Black absences in films in a sustained fashion beyond Blaxploitation films of apartheid and the few films which incorporate Black actors in colonial films. This monograph sought to rectify this lacuna of representation, and until Modisane's specific engagement with 'Black centred' film culture in apartheid era films, no further studies have centralised the topic of Black film culture in South Africa.³³

Masilela and Balseiro's make two distinct claims about their edited volume. These critics state, firstly, that they are sceptical of a national cinema approach and secondly that they aim to locate films about South Africa in a social context and not to exclude the cultural and political forces that led to their production.³⁴ The book's title, *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa*, references film culture, not

³² Balseiro and Masilela, "Introduction" in Balseiro and Masilela (eds.), *To Change Reels*, pp. 1 – 14.

³³ Modisane, *South Africa's Renegade Reels*.

³⁴ Balseiro and Masilela, "Introduction", in Balseiro and Masilela (eds.), *To Change Reels*, pp. 1 - 14.

cinema or films, an indication that the volume is interested not only in the films but in the cultural context and impact beyond the films. Their emphasis is significantly different to previous scholarship in that these critics place Black films alongside anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles. In this volume, then, the start of South African cinema is not only Harold Shaw's *De Voortrekkers* (Harold Shaw, 1916) but also, Sol Plaatje's mobile cinema and the New African Movement.³⁵ *To Change Reels* also engages with questions around sexuality and argues that these can no longer be ignored in the face of racial politics.³⁶ Although the editors emphasise a shift from race to gender in post-apartheid South Africa, the topic of race remains paramount in the films and scholarship about them that are published in years after.

Despite the editors' suspicion of a national cinema approach, this volume does not only trace what Masilela and Balseiro describe as "the cinema of occupation" but it also asks vital questions about the new South Africa on film.³⁷ By tracing the unwritten histories of South African cinema, chapters like Masilela's and Bhekizizwe Peterson's formulation on the New African movement and film culture in colonial South Africa, make new work accessible. Masilela and Balseiro argue that white nationalism in its colonial historical form, perceived of as "Afrikaner and British alike...has indeed debilitated filmic practice in the country from its inception by firmly grounding its ideological perspective in ethnocentrism".³⁸ They ask the following significant questions:

Should a 'true South African cinema' be one where the means of production are in the hands of the majority of South Africans – or, at the very least, in the hands of an intellectual black elite that claims to represent the interests of that majority more persuasively than has hitherto been the case? If the answer is

³⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁸ Ibid.

yes, would it follow that 'black films' would then be made? And would 'black films', by virtue of being made by blacks, fit the bill of being part of a South African national cinema?³⁹

Masilela and Balseiro ask such questions in order to consider the ways in which South African films might be inserted into discourses about the African Renaissance and African modernity. This is a radical theoretical position, which is the only one of its kind in the context of scholarship about South African cinema from colonialism through to post-apartheid because it provides evidence and extensive engagement with Black cinema over an extended period of South African history. Masilela and Balseiro's intervention is thus to engage with representations of Black South African cinema, and thereby to extend and elaborate studies on South African film, a field of study that has predominately been written about as a 'whites only' project, or at the very least, systematised by white structures.

Litheko Modisane's *South Africa's Renegade Reels* is similarly interested in tracing the Black modernist experience through film culture. Modisane draws on Balseiro and Masilela when he writes that this book partly fashions itself and "its exploration on South African films – with an eye on black participation and the problematic of black identity".⁴⁰ Modisane argues that "Black-centred" films have been able to, and continue to, stimulate public critical engagements on Blackness.⁴¹ With a historical focus, Modisane's focus is on early and late apartheid films and informs this study, as it is one of two books that develop South African cinema history

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Modisane, *South Africa's Renegade Reels*, p. 8.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 2.

by including Black South Africans and their public critical experiences of and with films between 1959 and 1998.⁴²

Maingard and Saks' works favour a national cinema approach to explore themes present in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid films. Maingard's *South African National Cinema* explores how the nation represented itself at various times across different epochs of South African history. Her project is interested in "...the more porous terrain for identity, both within theoretical frameworks and screen representations...".⁴³ Maingard, as with other prominent SA scholars, does not use a strict film studies framework for her work but rather an interdisciplinary approach which, like Balseiro and Masilela, favours Gutsche's awareness of the social context of film making and cinema in apartheid. In Maingard's case specifically, her position regarding the porous and shifting terrain of identity in relation to films potentially points to Raymond Williams' concept of an emergent structure of feeling although she does not engage this fully.⁴⁴ Maingard writes, for instance, that the new post-apartheid era could be considered as "...something potentially 'emergent'...as a way of describing the experience of occupying plural subjective positionings".⁴⁵

Maingard's national cinema formulation usefully takes into account the many complexities of the South African context both during apartheid and through to democracy. However, this thesis argues that a traditional national cinemas framework is not the most suitable approach for post-apartheid cinema because such a framework allows *some* room for variation but fundamentally seeks to identify and define specific aspects of a single nationality (however ethnically diverse) in order to

⁴² Ibid., p. 10.

⁴³ Maingard, *SA National Cinema*, p. 3.

⁴⁴ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*.

⁴⁵ Maingard, *SA National Cinema*, p. 3.

be able to distinguish it from another country trying to do the same. *South African National Cinemashows* developments in representations in films from South Africa, and provides analysis for the themes of national unity or themes of dissidence present in apartheid era films. Maingard's argument for a national cinema is interested in showing that these alternative and changing threads are constitutive of a post-apartheid South African national cinema.

On the one hand, Maingard's emphasis is on a unique cinema that might not be national at all. On the other hand, her argument is strongly in favour of a national cinema approach. In a chapter in Masilela and Balseiro's *To Change Reels*, which was published four years prior to Maingard's monograph, she argued against a national cinema approach for South African cinema. In Maingard's monograph, four years later, she explains her methodological shift. In Balseiro and Masilela's volume, Maingard asserts that, "there is no national cinema in South Africa".⁴⁶ In her monograph, from which this quote is taken, she explains that a cinema must reflect what that nation is and because of where South Africa was in 1997, it could not then be perceived as a national cinema. Nevertheless, despite the change in position between 2003 and 2007, both works include the identifier 'national cinema' in their titles. The editors of *To Change Reels*, Balseiro and Masilela, ask in the introduction to that volume, why Maingard would take such an approach when she does not believe it is a national cinema. For Maingard, films about and from South Africa are indelibly linked to the national framework of that country, in other words, the more distance the country gains from apartheid, the more it is democratic and thus national in its democratic unity and its cultural output. Maingard's argument for a national post-

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

apartheid cinema is about mediated democracy through the images, a democracy of the films (and every aspect of them) themselves.

Considering the film landscape from a socio-political position is also important to Lucia Saks' *The Race for Representation*, in which Saks distances herself from a national cinema formulation. Saks uses a pun in the title, *The Race for Representation*, to reference two kinds of race: one which references apartheid's racial categories and the other which references winning a race.⁴⁷ Saks offers a few provisos for why her study is not about a national cinema:

The South African nation is a celebration of diversity after a century of brutal and racist control...national cinema stories tend to focus on nations at the moment when a univocal culture is being formulated and/ or foisted on citizens, when the French notion of *citoyen/ citoyenne* (those who participate in the political life of the community and enjoy its positive freedoms) is at the foreground. Any national cinema story of South Africa in the 1990s and beyond must be about a nation developing a national spirit...⁴⁸

Democracy does not automatically produce a national cinema for Saks. Instead of a redefinition of cinema or an attempt at trying to locate SA cinema differently, Saks rather chooses to name what she engages with as, "a race to establish new terms of representation that will lead the way to harmony, however temporal, transient, and idealized". Saks prefers to steer away from the term national cinema and instead describes what she analyses as "a national story".⁴⁹ However differently Saks and Maingard have chosen to name the cinema they discuss, and thus the methodologies they employ, these works are nevertheless in dialogue with one another through a similar national cinemas approach that privileges thinking about the cinema *and* 'the nation' in its various incarnations. Both Maingard and Saks also provide historical

⁴⁷ Saks, *Cinema In A Democratic SA*.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

explorations of the intricacies of a 'new' cinema to represent the 'new' South Africa. Both works also favour a methodology focusing on representation in the films, while they simultaneously consider official changes from apartheid to post-apartheid in the creation of a national cinema. In this way, both Saks and Maingard also present the official decisions of the post-apartheid government and how they impacted on the construction of a 'Rainbow nation cinema'. Saks reminds us to be aware of the fraught terrain of cinema in post-apartheid, the double articulation of "cinema as industry and cinema as art" that can be seen in two post-apartheid state-led institutions which aim to achieve different goals: The National Film and Video Foundation and the Industrial Development Corporation's media and motion picture division.⁵⁰

Saks's work however departs from Maingard's in that she consistently buttresses 'Rainbow Nation' themes with the policies that make the developments in the film industry possible. Saks privileges a political economy approach and emphasises a distinct awareness of how representational issues work alongside policy matters. *The Race for Representation* is about pointing out the issues and developments in post-apartheid South African films as well as a more sociological analysis of how actual transformation was experienced after 1994. For example, one of the chapters is dedicated to community and HIV/AIDS and what interventions were made during this time, focusing on films that were educative and useful to communities.⁵¹ Where earlier texts about post-apartheid cinema focus on writing forgotten Black cinema histories (Balseiro and Masilela and Modisane) or making an argument for a particular kind of national cinema (Maingard), Saks also emphasises two distinct branches that constitute national cinemas: audiences and policies for the

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 133.

film industry. Her engagement with post-1994 policies by the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), both, arms of government that have played a very particular role in trying to propel Black stories into the cinematic sphere without giving much thought to whether such films can be read as post-apartheid nationalist propaganda or useful educational material.

In addition to these key works, other noteworthy scholarship about South African cinema includes work by Martin Botha, Lindiwe Dovey, Keyan Tomaselli and Audrey McCluskey.

Audrey McCluskey's *The Devil You Dance With* is often excluded from post-apartheid cinema scholarship because the book is comprised of interviews with a range of players, from directors to actors, scholars and producers.⁵² McCluskey is interested in similar issues to Maingard and Saks when she sets out the questions of the book. She is interested in the responsibility that filmmakers have to represent the issues of history and nation in the South African context, or, for example, in whether there is a national cinema or not. The exploration of these questions takes place through the format of interviews with players in the industry and the reader is thus invited to consider different opinions. However, McCluskey offers no conclusion through which she pulls together the range of answers, and so it is quite challenging to fully comprehend the editor's final assertions on the topic.

Two scholars who offer long-standing and consistent engagement with the topic of South African (apartheid and post-apartheid) cinema are Martin Botha and Keyan Tomaselli. With the thesis's focus on post-apartheid, I focus on Botha and Tomaselli's later works in this section. Martina Botha's 2012 monograph about South

⁵² Audrey McCluskey (ed.), *The Devil You Dance With: Film Culture in the New South Africa* (Urbana and Chicago: University Of Illinois Press, 2009).

African cinema covers the full spectrum of films from the country, however, Botha's lack of analysis of films or themes makes it a challenging text to identify as a primary source of scholarship relevant to the thesis.⁵³ Nevertheless, Botha's contribution is useful in that it provides an extensive list of South African films. The author's emphasis however is not analytical and oscillates between a survey of film titles and directors that he has identified as important. It is unclear on what basis they have been chosen and most of the book, barring the final two chapters, references apartheid era films. Keyan Tomaselli's *Encountering Modernity* (2006) is a post-apartheid reflection on African and South African cinema as part of African cinema. Tomaselli writes that the aim of his 1980s monograph was less invested in the texts of apartheid cinema and focussed instead on policies from an interventionist political economy position.⁵⁴ This later monograph, however, explores South African cinema and African cinema in a context in which South Africa is no longer separated from the continent as it was during apartheid. This study is invested in an historical interpretation of twentieth century South African films and explores these films through film theory from the West, Third Cinema and post-colonial African cinema.⁵⁵

In a different application of post-apartheid cinema, Lindiwe Dovey also employs many South African films in her monograph, *African Film And Literature: Adapting Violence To The Screen*.⁵⁶ Dovey's dual national and regional cinema orientation also emphasises issues of authorship and spectatorship in the adaptations she draws on.⁵⁷

⁵³ Keyan Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinemas* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2006)., Martina Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010* (Bristol, Chicago: Intellect, 2012).

⁵⁴ Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Lindiwe Dovey, *African Film and Literature: Adapting Violence to the Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. xi.

This is the only scholarship about post-apartheid South African cinema that pays close attention to a national cinema approach while at the same time engaging in a decisive argument for a consideration of South African cinema's place in the region of Africa. In this way, Dovey touches on the question of how South African cinema might also be considered post-colonial. Dovey's emphasis however is not on naming the cinema but on the way in which literary texts which have violent themes in their narratives have been adapted to films. She analyses the films from this perspective so as to engage representations of violence seen in a range of films across the African continent, making specific arguments around the representations and reconstructions of the narratives in films. In her continental approach, Dovey also pays specific attention to the role of the Pan African film festival, the Pan African Film and Television Festival of Ougadougou (FESPACO), on the continent as a way of locating South African cinema's presence in Africa after the end of apartheid. Although their arguments vary, Tomaselli, Maingard and Dovey comment on South Africa's presence and inclusion under the umbrella of African cinema after the end of apartheid.

The literature about post-apartheid cinema has shown that there are a few primary ways to think about this cinema to date. Although South African cinema is certainly an evolving cinema, I have found that there are representational elements in the films themselves that have not been considered before. The work that I have discussed in this section lays the foundation for further consideration of what might be present in the films. Scholarship about post-apartheid cinema has made arguments for a national cinema imbued with identity politics (Maingard) and a growing cinema in which the narratives remain dependent on changing policies (Saks). At the same time, scholarship by Masilela, Balseiro and Modisane approaches the historical and

contemporary film terrain from a cultural and Black centred approach. Although a historical and representational approach has received much attention by some of the above-mentioned scholars, the emphasis has largely been on tracing what has largely been accepted as a version of national cinema. This thesis however, is interested in unpacking whether a national cinema approach is really the most fitting one for post-apartheid films. Thus the thesis departs slightly from the texts discussed in this section, as it sets out to investigate what post-apartheid films explore in their narratives about the apartheid past, the end of apartheid and the simultaneous establishment of a new democratic system, and alongside this, new nation as it has been shown in recent examples of post-apartheid narratives.

In order to explore these issues and possibilities, this literature review now surveys others sources outside of South African film studies in order to grapple with other ways of identifying, naming and engaging with post-apartheid films.

1.4 South Africa: Post-Colonial and/or Post-Apartheid?

South Africa was at the height of apartheid when most African countries became independent in the early 1960s. As Lizelle Bischoff puts it,

Because of South Africa's disjointed history – out of synch with the historical patterns of colonisation, freedom struggles and eventual independence that shaped the modern era for most other African countries – South African cinema during apartheid is generally excluded from historical and theoretical discussions of African film as a whole.⁵⁸

Bischoff's observation is confirmed in the explicit exclusion of South Africa in most post-colonial African cinema texts. Manthia Diawara, for example, traces the history

⁵⁸ Lizelle Bischoff, "Sub-Saharan African Cinema in the Context of Fespaco: Close-ups of Francophone West Africa and Anglophone South Africa", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45:4 (2009), p. 448.

of African colonial cinema through to post-colonial Anglophone and Francophone cinemas, showing changes as well as resonances of the colonies that once controlled them.⁵⁹ Other considerations of post-colonial African cinema come from Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike's *Black African Cinema*, Imruh Bakari and Mbye Cham's *African Experiences of Cinema*, Ken Harrow's *African Cinema: Post-colonial and Feminist Readings* and June Givanni's edited volume *Symbolic Narratives/ African Cinema Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image*.⁶⁰ These volumes are not representative of an extensive list of works about African cinema but they are key in post-colonial African cinema scholarship. Most of the selected works do not include analysis about South Africa's film industry because of apartheid. It was only after the end of apartheid that South Africa was invited to participate in FESPACO. Because of the many exclusions of South Africa in post-colonial African cinema scholarship, it is not feasible to make an argument for the country to be considered as post-colonial.

David Murphy and Patrick Williams, however, choose to consider post-colonial cinema differently and their final chapter is devoted to South African director Darrell Roodt. In *Postcolonial African Cinema: Ten Directors*, the authors consider Darrell Roodt (*Sarafina* (1992), *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1995) and *Yesterday* (2004) as part of a survey of post-colonial African directors. Roodt's inclusion makes it possible for Murphy and Williams to consider South Africa's separate development from the rest of the continent by asking, "...what is the status of a white, liberal director such as Roodt

⁵⁹ Manthia Diawara, *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992).

⁶⁰ Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike, *Black African Cinema* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994)., Imruh Bakari and Mbye Cham, *African Experiences of Cinema* (London: BFI, 1996)., Ken Harrow, *African Cinema: Post-colonial and Feminist Readings* (Africa World Press, 1999)., and June Givanni (ed.), *Symbolic Narratives/ African Cinema Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image* (London, BFI, 2000).

in our conception of African cinema?”⁶¹ Murphy and Williams’ questions are interesting because so many directors of South African films are white males, sometimes South African and other times not.

Aware of the importance of the potential relationship between post-colonial and post-apartheid questions, Rosemary Jolly and Derek Attridge were some of the first cultural scholars of the 1990s to ask, “What then, is the nature of post colonialism’s contribution to a post apartheid future?”⁶² Premesh Lalu offers a polemical suggestion for thinking about post-apartheid as post-colonial when he critiques what he considers a neo-liberal collapse of the one onto the other:

Lurking within this claim to a postcolonial history which arguably emerged at the height of apartheid is the undertow of the ‘native question’. It tugs at the very constellation of the South African history and, perhaps, explains why the postapartheid present has been rendered in such a way as to suggest that it signals a rupture with the past. Such a presentation of the postapartheid necessarily runs the risk of obscuring the foundational presuppositions of South African history and allows South African historians to forge ahead as if those knowledge projects, such as social history, that arose in opposition to apartheid can simply be transposed to give meaning to the postapartheid. Other than to define itself as oppositional, the nostalgic renderings of agency and a re-reading of the community as spatially local, social history cannot, it seems, account for its own historicity.⁶³

To take Lalu’s point of departure in the context of post-colonial African cinema means to decidedly *not* employ such a ‘collapsed’ perspective in this thesis at all: the assumption that because post-apartheid connotes a break from apartheid and colonialism it is necessary post-colonial. Lalu critiques this too easy effect within scholarship about post-apartheid. This does not mean that I am not aware of it but it

⁶¹ David Murphy and Patrick Williams, *Postcolonial African Cinema: Ten Directors* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 5.

⁶² Rosemary Jolly and Derek Attridge, “Introduction” in Jolly and Attridge (eds.), *Writing South Africa: Literature, Apartheid, and Democracy 1970 – 1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1 – 13.

⁶³ Premesh Lalu, “When was South African history ever postcolonial?”, *Kronos Southern African Histories* 34 (November 2008), p. 268.

does mean that the scholarship of Francophone and Anglophone African film scholarship is excluded from this study beyond pointing out that that history is at a disjuncture with the development of South African cinema. The African cinema discourse covers a large volume of work which is not directly pertinent to the aims of this thesis.

Although I disagree with a post-colonial framework for post-apartheid films, there is nevertheless a distinct struggle for representation of the past of the country and identities of the present. In light of the complexities of representation, I now turn to scholarship that facilitates a discussion around what an adequate framework might be.

Part Two

Defining Cinemas, Nations and 'Structures of Feeling'

Scholars of national cinema studies or related topics have long been engaged in the to and fro of what meaning is created when using the term 'national' in relation to cinema.⁶⁴ Such scholarship has been concerned with what a cinema imparts to the nation it seeks to represent and what interpretations other nations are meant to take from these 'national' filmic constructions. Later, twenty-first century debates incorporate nuances to discussions about national cinemas, and recognise the shifting terrain and validity of the concept but do not quite provide the conceptual repertoire for discussion of the specific South African situation in the way that this thesis will explore.⁶⁵

Andrew Higson identifies four characteristics by which to identify a national cinema.⁶⁶ Although he references Britain, the modes of assessment are relevant nonetheless, especially as they continue to appear in national cinema scholarship outside of that context. The first characteristic is related to the economy of cinema:

⁶⁴ Some of the most influential texts about national cinema debates in the late twentieth century include: Andrew Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema", *Screen* 30: 4 (1989), pp. 36 – 47., Philip Rosen, "Nation and Anti-Nation: Concepts of National Cinema in the 'New' Media Era", *Diaspora* 5: 3 (1996), pp. 375 – 399., Thomas Elsaesser, "Film History and Visual Pleasure" Weimar Cinema" in P. Mellencamp and P. Rosen (eds.), *Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1984), pp. 47 – 85., Ed Buscombe, "The Idea of National Cinema", *Australian Journal of Screen Theory* 9/10 (1981), pp. 141 – 153. Outside the field of cinema studies, the work of Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983) and Homi Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990) has been extremely significant in the theorisation of national identities.

Thomas Elsaesser, a significant contributor to these debates, summarises some of the key moves in national cinema debates in "Impersonations: National Cinema, Historical Imagination and New Cinema Europe", *Mise Au Point Online* 5 (2013), <http://map.revues.org/1480>. [Accessed 30 November 2015].

⁶⁵ Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (eds.), *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000)., Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemsen (eds.), *Theorising National Cinema* (London: Palgrave Macmillan/ BFI, 2008)., Alan Williams (ed.), *Film and Nation* (Rutgers: The Statue University Press, 2002).

⁶⁶ Andrew Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema", in *Screen* 30: 4 (1989), pp. 36 – 47.

“establishing a conceptual correspondence between the terms ‘national cinema’ and ‘the domestic film industry’, and therefore being concerned with such questions as: where are these films made, and by whom?...”.⁶⁷ A second definitive aspect is one that might preface a text-based approach to the films themselves, asking things like, “what are these films about? Do they share a common style or worldview? What sort of projections of the national character do they offer?...”.⁶⁸ Points three and four are closely related as they are concerned with audience and reception: who is watching and what are they choosing to watch. The final point is two-fold: the first relates to what Higson calls a reduction of national cinema to “the terms of a quality art cinema...”.⁶⁹ This “high –cultural” cinema presents a particular construction of the nation instead of paying attention to what popular audiences may want to see.⁷⁰ Based on this, a national cinema and related modalities of exhibiting nation(s), is always, as various other scholars have articulated, in conflict, as it is simultaneously inward and outward focussed.

The meaning of the term ‘national’ has shifted since the early 1980s when a significant round of critique was launched against preconceived assumptions about what constituted ‘the national’ in different disciplines. As Thomas Elsaesser puts it in a reflection and re-assertion about the contemporary value of national cinemas, Anderson’s use of constructivism as a method, came in answer to the questions that four important essays in the field had posed, albeit in different ways, almost exclusively in relation to British cinema and Hollywood productions.⁷¹ These discussions formed the foundation of debates about national cinema and the pressing

⁶⁷ Andrew Higson, “The Concept of National Cinema” in *Screen* 30: 41 (1989), p. 36.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 37

⁷¹ Thomas Elsaesser, “Impersonations: National Cinema, Historical Imagination and New Cinema Europe” in *Mise Au Point* (2013).

presence and infiltration of television in public discourse. These discourses started to formulate ideas around how nations might be constructed and represented by its popular media: television and/ or cinema.⁷²

Higson's later reflection on national cinemas in "The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema" does not completely refute his early work but self reflexively repositions the question, asking about the usefulness of the concept of national cinema. He describes the term as "...clearly a helpful taxonomic divide, a conventional means of reference in the complex debates about cinema, but the process of labelling is always to some degree tautologous, fetishising the national rather than merely describing it."⁷³ Philip Rosen, one of the key thinkers in that path breaking 1980s discourse, in 1996 writes that, "The cinematic institution has never been a completely stable entity".⁷⁴ Thomas Elsaesser asks the question: national or international cinema? by way of naming a chapter in his 1989 monograph.⁷⁵ These inquiries into alternative ways of imagining national (western) cinemas are pointed to here to show how 'national cinema' has been a complex term from the outset.

Three recent comprehensive edited volumes are the point of departure of new century scholarship about national cinemas: Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie's *Cinema and Nation*, Alan Williams' *Film and Nation* and Valentina Vitali and Paul

⁷² I do not explore this interrelationship in detail but the relevance of television's presence in mainstream society was a vital part of the discussions about national cinemas. Notable scholarship in this field includes: Charlotte Brunsdon and David Morley, *The Nationwide Television Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005)., Philip Rosen "Nation and Anti-Nation: Concepts of National Cinema in the 'New' Media Era" in *Diaspora: A Journal Of Transnational Studies* 5:3 Winter 1996, pp. 375 – 402., Stuart Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997)., Thomas Elsaesser, *New German Cinema: A History* (London: BFI, 1989).

⁷³ Andrew Higson, "The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema" in Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (eds.) *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 64.

⁷⁴ Philip Rosen, "Nation and Anti-Nation: Concepts of National Cinema in the 'New' Media Era" in *Diaspora* 5: 3 (1996), p. 376.

⁷⁵ Thomas Elsaesser, *New German Cinema: A History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan/ BFI, 1989).

Willemen's *Theorising National Cinema*. Each of these volumes also includes historical works, some of which have been referenced above.⁷⁶

Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie preface a need to rethink the concept of national cinemas so that it incorporates more fluid aspects in a post-modern and post-structuralist era. Such an examination considers how the previous parameters of scholarship within the humanities have shifted dramatically from Eurocentric-only approaches to incorporate geographies and contexts beyond historically Western-only dilemmas. Recent scholarship about nations also argues for terms to be more inclusive and malleable. Some such terms are identified by Hjort and McKenzie when they write that, "...deconstruction and psychoanalytic semiology must compete with a new set of terms... 'hybridity', 'multiculturalism', 'transnationalism', 'nationalism', 'internationalism', 'globalisation', 'cosmopolitanism', 'exile', 'postcolonial', to mention some of the most salient terms".⁷⁷ However, even in making room for new terms, scholars of national cinemas do not all agree on which of these are relevant and useful, nor do they all agree that the term national cinema is effective in as far as it reflects a distinct set of definitions.

Hjort and McKenzie assert that when discussing national cinema, we are also engaging in "notions of conflict".⁷⁸ What they observe as national cinema also employing "notions of conflict", is engaged with differently in Vitali and Willemen's *Theorising National Cinema*.⁷⁹ This text pays close attention to surveying the historicity of national cinema (the first section is specifically focussed on the older

⁷⁶ Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (eds.) *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000)., Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemen (eds.) *Theorising National Cinema* (London: Palgrave Macmillan/ BFI, 2008)., Alan Williams (ed.), *Film and Nation* (Rutgers: The Statue University Press, 2002).

⁷⁷ Hjort and Mackenzie (eds.) *Cinema and Nation*, p. 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Vitali and Willemen (eds.) *Theorising National Cinema*.

works referenced in the opening of this section) before individual scholars' chapters extend into more contemporary debates. Similar to the conflict articulated by Hjort and McKenzie, Vital and Willemsen point out that films are themselves perceived of as "discursive terrain".⁸⁰

Like Vital and Willemsen, Alan Williams' edited volume warns against a too easy lapse into an Andersonian approach towards national cinema studies. Williams asserts that "Nationhood... is not merely established, it must be maintained; its definition, therefore will inevitably shift over time... Cinema would be an essential part of a process of defining nations".⁸¹ The three edited volumes all survey historical national cinema debates and offer contemporary methodological perspectives on how to think about variations in national cinemas and thus provide a useful overview of debates on the topic.

On the issue of the conceptual expansions in national cinema debates, scholars have also put forward certain suggestions for how to think about variety within national frameworks. Susan Hayward, for example, uses the term "pluricultural" instead of multicultural, calling the latter a fallacy employed to fulfil the aims of globalisation.⁸² According to Hayward, national cinemas, as thought of in a multicultural framework, attempt to distinguish one nation as different from another by looking at differences within the national, in other words, a nation looking in on itself. She critically identifies that "it is in that set of differences that we seek to forge our national identity as one: calling it multicultural (i.e. different but as one) whereas it

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸¹ Alan Williams (ed.), *Film and Nation*, p. 3.

⁸² Susan Hayward, "Re-evaluating/ revaluing the concept and the value of national cinema" in Hjort and Mackenzie (eds.), *Cinema and Nation*, p. 94.

is patently pluricultural (i.e. segregated cultures)...”.⁸³ Tom O’Regan, writing about Australian national cinema, expresses a similar critique that the topic of a national cinema is in fact not straight forward and coherent but rather, dispersed and hybrid.⁸⁴

Other scholars have approached the question of how to define cinema still differently. A few examples briefly surveyed here are: ‘accented cinema’, the small nation’s cinema approach, world cinema, art cinema and transnational cinema.

Hamid Naficy’s ‘accented cinema’ takes into account films by diaspora filmmakers and emphasises the inclusion of a global South point of view and an aesthetic that claims both diaspora and ‘home’ status.⁸⁵ Not only does such an argument necessarily employ Hayward’s pluricultural assertion but it also manifests it in the method of analysis of the films. *The Cinema of Small Nations* approach by Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie argues for a significant analytical distancing of how cinemas are considered in relation to Hollywood or larger national cinemas. This approach does not dismiss the traditional construction of a national cinema but rather argues that smaller cinemas also exist and matter.⁸⁶ Hjort and Petrie provide a four-point outline for how certain cinemas might be defined as ‘small’. These points encompass the size of the nation’s population, the geographic size of the nation, the Gross National Product and the presence of colonial rule or historical subjugation.⁸⁷ Despite South Africa’s large geographic size, population and largest GDP on the continent (Hjort and Petrie identify small African countries such as Tunisia and Burkina Faso), some of the characteristics of small nation cinemas apply to South Africa as well.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Tom O’Regan, *Australian National Cinema* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 2

⁸⁵ Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁸⁶ Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie (eds.), *The Cinema of Small Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

Considering films outside of the national approach is also important to Stephanie Dennison and Song Hwee Lim in *Remapping World Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics in Film*.⁸⁸ Although African cinema is not included in this volume at all, my interest lies in the alternative definitions outside of national cinema, asking, to draw from Dudley Andrews' "An Atlas Of World Cinema", not where post-apartheid South African films might be placed on a map showing global cinematic power, but rather what makes it distinct on the map.⁸⁹ Also concerned with ways of remapping cinemas, Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden define transnational cinema in relation to the scholarship about national cinema identified earlier in this review. Their considerations emphasise a move away from national cinema and an awareness of film as a global industry that is not geographically fixed.

Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover's *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories* engages with the potential ways in which "art cinema can be defined by its impurity; a difficulty of categorization that is as productive to film culture as it is frustrating to taxonomy".⁹⁰ The editors note that art cinema "...perverts the standard categories used to divide up institutions, locations, histories, or spectators...".⁹¹ I consider that films about South Africa as discussed in this thesis, to be part of an impure category of cinema that is simultaneously deeply rooted in and excluded from the standard categories pointed out above: institutions, locations, histories, or spectators. In spite of this, the South African films discussed cannot all be termed art cinema either, as not all of the selection are necessarily and convincingly interested in

⁸⁸ Stephanie Dennison and Song Hwee Lim (eds.), *Remapping World Cinemas* (Wallflower Press: London, 2006).

⁸⁹ Dudley Andrews, "An Atlas of World Cinema" in Dennison and Lim (eds.), *Remapping World Cinemas*, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover (eds.), *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 6.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6-7.

pervverting the standard categories related to the workings of cinema. Galt and Schoonover's volume provides a useful and challenging source for the taxonomies of 'other' cinemas.

The categories briefly acknowledged in this section point to how it might be able to conceptualise South African films within cinema frameworks outside of early national cinema approaches. While compelling in their theoretical and methodological approaches, these 'other' conceptualisations of cinemas are not quite the emphasis of this thesis. While this project necessarily engages concerns with regard to naming and framing films from and about South Africa, the stress is placed on the ways in which the different kinds of films seen in this cinema present and represent tropes of the post-apartheid 'Rainbow'.

Post-apartheid South African films are distinct for similar reasons to what Ackbar Abbas identifies about Hong Kong cinema, its "absent presences", articulated as a fragmented nation that has not yet resolved the *issue* of nation.⁹² (emphasis my own) In this thesis's engagement with representations of the new national in post-apartheid films, my interest lies not in definition but rather in analysing what the films themselves show as "absent presences" because, as with Hong Kong cinema, the issue of nation in South Africa has also not yet been resolved.

As reviewed in Part One of the literature review, South African cinema has generally been discussed from a perspective that considers the nation or themes of the nation in film. At this time, because of various reasons, among them, multi-national cinema discussions and other formulations of cinema(s), it may be useful to move away from such discussions. South African films written about from a national

⁹² Ackbar Abbas, "Hong Kong" in Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie (eds.), *The Cinema of Small Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 116.

cinema perspective emphasise expression(s) of or by the nation. This thesis however draws on a related but different approach, through which I consider what a selection of South African-set films can tell us about the transformations in South Africa and the negotiations of being South African. The concerns of this thesis are thus adjacent to national cinema concerns as my interest lies in something beyond, yet still within, the representations of nation.

To undertake this investigation, the literature review now turns to scholarship that is less concerned with defining the kind of cinema that post-apartheid might be characterised as. Instead, it considers literature that deals with conceptions and articulations of the subjectivities of nation and identity through British Cultural Studies. Such an approach has not received much critical attention from within post-apartheid cultural and film studies even though some of the scholarship raised in Part One comments on the different ways in which the concept 'post-apartheid' has been rendered across cultural works.

On the one hand, it might appear that a Cultural Studies approach that is so firmly rooted in another nation and the context of another time, the 1970s – 1990s in Britain, might be of no use to a context like South Africa. I have found this not to be the case, as Cultural Studies is a theoretical platform that is able to, and this is relevant to the post-apartheid context too, "situate itself...in a transitional space within contemporary cultural – political debate – in the midst of conflicts for instance, over often pivotal political terms".⁹³ The terms that the editors of the *Cultural Remix* volume refer to are of particular popular and political pertinence to the late 1980s in Britain. However, it is not so much the terms that I am interested in (or how these

⁹³ Erica Carter, James Donald and Judith Squires (eds.), *Cultural Remix: Theories of Politics and the Popular* (London: Lawrence And Wishart, 1995), p. x.

1980s terms find their articulation) but rather the appreciation of hybridity and difference in Cultural Studies scholarship.⁹⁴

Conceptualised in this way, the thesis is able to draw on unexpected scholarship to explore what post-apartheid films represent and show us about the pre-occupations of the identities of the new nation. Drawing on Williams to explore the possibility of a new structure of feeling present in post-apartheid cinema *and* drawing on conceptions of ‘working through’ and ‘working beyond’ trauma seen in post-apartheid films (Part Three of the literature review), invites a potentially new way of thinking about the ‘The Rainbow Nation’ in film.

This section pays specific attention to detailing what Williams’ ‘structure of feeling’ entails and why it is relevant to the post-apartheid context. Williams uses the concept ‘structure of feeling’ to understand the very intricate process of shifts within a society from the perception of social consciousness and changes to that social consciousness. Some such changes might start out as unambiguous in the reflection of dominant structure of feeling while other changes might be significantly less articulate. This thesis is concerned with finding out whether post-apartheid films show us anything about the less articulate changes, especially against the powerful and all-consuming background of the official post-1994 ‘Rainbow Nation’ narrative.

⁹⁴ The following scholarship is relevant to a Cultural Studies framework that informs this thesis: Paul Gilroy, *Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, Johannesburg: Hutchinson, 1992 (Reprint of 1987)), pp. 11., Clyde Taylor, “Eurocentrics Vs. New Thought at Edinburgh” in *Framework* (34: 1987) pp. 140 – 148.; Homi K. Bhabha, “The Commitment to Theory” in *New Formations* (5: 1988) pp. 5 – 23.; Jim Pines and Paul Willemen *Questions of Third Cinema* (London: BFI, 1989). Much later scholarship but which also, at least by way of introduction, begins at the Edinburgh conference is June Givanni’s edited volume *Symbolic Narratives/ African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image* (London: BFI, 2000)., Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara and Ruth H. Lindeborg (eds.) *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1996), Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation” in Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara and Ruth H. Lindeborg (eds.) *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1996)., Stuart Hall, “Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance” in Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara and Ruth H. Lindeborg (eds.) *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1996).

The opening quotation of this thesis, by Williams, quite simply indicates that no generation speaks the same language as the generation before. This is related to the unarticulated shifts discussed above and what Williams expresses as trying to define “...a particular quality of social experience and relationship” that diverges from one generation to another.⁹⁵ There is a relation between this quality and what Williams defines as “other specifying historical marks of changing institutions, formations, and beliefs between and within classes”, that poses a specific set of historical questions and which simultaneously poses a methodological challenge.⁹⁶

This challenge is related to where the historical markings are evidenced or assumed to be evidenced because, as Williams points out, “what really changes is something quite general, over a wide range...”.⁹⁷ In this regard, Williams explains the changes by way of two elements of definition: first, “*changes of presence...*” and second, that “... although they are emergent or pre-emergent, they do not have to await definition, classification, or rationalization before they exert palpable pressures and set effective limits on experience and on action”.⁹⁸ These changes are defined as ‘structures of feeling’, which Williams describes as:

...specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity. We are then defining in these elements as a ‘structure’: as a set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension. Yet we are also defining a social experience which is still in *process*... which in analysis (though rarely otherwise) has its emergent, connecting, and dominant characteristics, indeed its specific hierarchies. These are often more recognizable at a later stage, when they have been (as often happens) formalized, classified, and in many cases built into

⁹⁵ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 131.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 132.

institutions and formations. By that time the case is different; a new structure of feeling will usually already have begun to form...⁹⁹

In the context of this thesis, then, I consider how it might be possible to identify a new structure of feeling presented in post-apartheid films. I am interested in the interrelationship between what might be present as emergent and residual in the specific identities of post-apartheid South African-ness. In this intricate space between official discourse of new nation and potential emergences of new identities, the thesis is also concerned with trying to articulate some of what, if present, this emergent structure of feeling is characterised as.

In its methodological approach, Williams sets out that “a ‘structure of feeling’ is a cultural hypothesis” that seeks to understand elements and their connections in a generation or period¹⁰⁰. Related to South African apartheid to post-apartheid film analysis, the thesis sets out to determine how the elements of the past might still be present in the future, while at the same time, trying to find and identify a possibly emergent structure of feeling. I use the terms ‘emergent’, ‘residual’ and ‘dominant’ as defined by Williams to identify the presence of each of these in their individual *and* overlapping generational forms.

Drawing on Fanonian scholarship, Hall asks these questions which are so pertinent also to the context of post-apartheid cinematic representation and the investigations around a new structure of feeling:

Is it only a matter of unearthing that which the colonial experience buried and overlaid, bringing to light the hidden continuities it suppressed? Or is a quite

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

different practice entailed – not the rediscovery but the production of identity? Not an identity grounded in the archaeology but in the retelling of the past?¹⁰¹

Part of the attempts outlined above means that it is necessary to unpack how trauma comes to life in post-apartheid films. Part Two of the thesis pays specific attention to representations of this era in South Africa through a thorough consideration of the official and unofficial rhetoric of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The final section of the literature review thus turns to scholarship that deals with trauma and memory and its presence in post-apartheid cinema.

¹⁰¹ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation" in Baker, Jr., Diawara and Lindeborg (eds.), *Black British*, pp. 211-212.

Part Three

3.1 Memory and Trauma in South African Films

Scholarship about trauma on screen in the South African film context is sparse.¹⁰² There is minimal dialogue between trauma scholarship from South Africa and other contexts of trauma and memory. The lack of extensive engagement with this topic in relation to film interested me because so many post-apartheid films exhibit elements of the trauma of apartheid. Lucia Saks also notes the lack of critical engagement with the TRC when she writes that, “cinema has not (as yet) participated in any public criticism of the event”.¹⁰³ Literature that deals with the TRC on film also engages most consistently with documentary films about the TRC than fiction films which depict it.

This section briefly surveys the debates in memory and trauma studies in relation to the South African context. I consider the debates in memory and trauma scholarship more broadly to think about what is relevant to the context of post-apartheid cinema. For example, there is no shortage of material about truth

¹⁰² Notable scholarship that engages the SA TRC in films includes: Joylon P. Mitchell *Promoting Peace, Inciting Violence: The Role of Religion and the Media* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012)., Sarah L. Lincoln “This Is My History” in E. Anne. Kaplan and Ban Wang (eds.), *Trauma and Cinema: Cross Cultural Explorations* (Hong Kong and Aberdeen: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), pp. 25 - 44., Martin Mhando and Keyan G. Tomaselli, *Film and Trauma: Africa Speaks to Itself through Truth and Reconciliation Films*, *Black Camera* 1:1 (2009), pp. 30 – 50., Angelo Ferrillo, “A Space of (Im)Possibility: Ian Gabriel’s *Forgiveness* in Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe (eds.), *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009)., Annie E. Coombes, “The Gender of Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa” in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), pp. 442 – 458., Jacqueline Maingard, *SA National Cinema*, pp. 157 – 178., Lizelle Bisschoff and Stefanie Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma in Africa: Representations of Reconciliation in Music, Visual Arts, Literature and Film* (New York, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd.: 2013)., Cara Moyer- Duncan, “Truth, Reconciliation and Cinema: Reflections on South Africa’s Recent Past in *Ubuntu’s Wounds* and *Homecoming*” in Bisschoff and Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma*, pp. 272 – 293., Lucia Saks, *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa*)., Bhekizizwe Peterson, “Dignity, Memory and the Future Under Siege: Reconciliation and Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa”, in Sam Okoth Opondo and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.), *The New Violent Cartography: Geo-Analysis after the Aesthetic Turn* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 214 – 233., Jacqueline Maingard, “Love, Loss, Memory and Truth” in Bhekizizwe Peterson and Ramadan Suleman, *Zulu Love Letter: A Screenplay* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), pp. 5 – 17., Lindiwe Dovey *African Film and Literature*.

¹⁰³ Saks, *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa*, p. 90.

commissions around the world as well as the one that took place in South Africa between 1995 and 2002.¹⁰⁴ Because of divergent theoretical and methodological approaches, some of these works are not directly relevant to the thesis. It is in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation film '(TRC) films' of 2004 that the most extensive engagement with trauma occurs in the literature and this is discussed in Chapter Three.¹⁰⁵

In their psychoanalytic engagement with the event and experiences of the TRC, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe's two edited volumes serve as insightful compilations from which to proceed.¹⁰⁶ These volumes have different interests in the processes and impacts of the TRC but intersect in that the chapters are concerned with narratives, journeys and perspectives around healing and forgiveness

¹⁰⁴ Here I refer to some works that critically engage with the intricate processes and different global tribunals of truth as well as the SA TRC. This list is comprised of scholarship about the TRC process and representations of it: Aletta J. Norval, "Memory, Identity and the (Im)possibility Of Reconciliation: The Work of the TRC in South Africa", *Constellations* 5:2 (1998), pp. 250-265., Michael Cunningham, "Saying Sorry: the Politics of Apology", *The Political Quarterly Publishing Co.* (1999), pp. 285- 293., Rosemary Nagy, "The Ambiguities of Reconciliation and Responsibility in South Africa", *Political Studies* 52 (2004), pp. 709- 727., Rosemary Jolly, "Rehearsals of Liberation: Contemporary Postcolonial Discourse and the New South Africa", *PMLA* 110:1 (1995), pp. 17 – 29., Tristan Anne Borer, "Reconciling South Africa/ South Africans? Cautionary Notes from the TRC", *African Studies Quarterly* 8:1 (2004), pp. 19 – 38., Catherine M. Cole, "Performance, Transitional Justice, and the Law: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Theatre Journal* 59:2 (2007), pp. 167-187., Annelies Verdooolaege, "Media Representations of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and their Commitment to Reconciliation", *Journal Of African Cultural Studies* 17:2 (2005), pp. 181 – 199., Susan Vanzanten Gallagher, "'I Want To Say/ Forgive Me': South African Discourse and Forgiveness", *PMLA* 117:2 (2002), pp. 303 – 306., Pumla Gqola, "Defining People, pp. 94 – 106., Martha Minow, "In Practice Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Negotiation Journal* (1998), pp. 319 – 355., Ifi Amadiume and Abdullah An-Nam (eds.), *The Politics Of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000)., Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson (eds.), *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2002)., Catherine M. Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010)., Antje Krog, *Country of My Skull* (Johannesburg: Random House, 1998)., Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000)., Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Random House, 2000)., Charmaine McEachern, *Narratives of Nation Media, Memory And Representation in the Making of the New South Africa: A Volume in Horizons in Post-Colonial Studies* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2002).

¹⁰⁵ The films discussed in Chapter Three are: *Zulu Love Letter* (Ramadan Suleman, 2004), *In My Country* (John Boorman, 2004), *Forgiveness* (Ian Gabriel, 2004) and *Red Dust* (Tom Hooper, 2004).

¹⁰⁶ Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe (eds.), *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness*, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe *Narrating Our Healing: Perspectives on Working through Trauma* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

after apartheid. In a single chapter in the later of the two volumes, Angelo Ferrillo discusses one of the 'TRC films', Ian Gabriel's *Forgiveness* (2004).¹⁰⁷ Sarah Lincoln, like Gobodo-Madikizela and Van Der Merwe, discusses collective national trauma and the space that the TRC provided for working through the past when she writes that new South African-ness "...is being forged precisely out of this shared experience of a traumatic past".¹⁰⁸ Her argument is suggestive of the fact that trauma is part of 'Rainbow Nation' common heritage.

Annie E. Coombes draws on Susan Sontag in her analysis of *Long Night's Journey Into Day*, noting that, "...we cannot help but feel horror at the deeds we witness with the mothers, but our *shame* is provoked by witnessing their extreme distress from the comfort of our seats beyond the time and space of the hearing".¹⁰⁹ As *Long Night's Journey Into Day* is a documentary film, it is not dealt with in the thesis. Nevertheless, Coombes' approach of identifying the discomfort of watching the pain and trauma of others is of great interest to Part Two of the thesis that grapples with similar concerns in relation to the traumas of the TRC.

Most recently, the edited volume *Art and Trauma in Africa* (2012) brings new and fresh engagement to the topic of trauma in African art.¹¹⁰ The volume employs a pan-African approach, which takes trauma scholarship as an important point of departure by beginning with Cathy Caruth's primary argument that trauma studies concerns "representing the unrepresentable".¹¹¹ Jacqueline Maingard's foreword to this volume outlines the concerns as a collection on "conflict, trauma and

¹⁰⁷ Angelo Ferrillo, "A Space Of (Im)Possibility: Ian Gabriel's *Forgiveness* in Gobodo-Madikizela and Van Der Merwe (eds.), *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness*, pp. 237 – 257.

¹⁰⁸ Sarah L. Lincoln "This is My History", in Kaplan and Wang (eds.), *Trauma and Cinema*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ Annie E. Coombes, "The Gender of Memory" in Radstone and Schwarz (eds.), *Memory*, p. 446.

¹¹⁰ Lizelle Bisschoff and Stefanie Van De Peer, "Representing the Unrepresentable" in Bisschoff and Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma*, pp. 3 – 24.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

reconciliation, and examples of various art forms representing these in a pan-African context”.¹¹²

Although the volume’s intention is to make an argument for conflict, trauma and reconciliation present in African art, a thorough survey of the literature on the topic of trauma and memory in screen studies is somewhat lacking. Also missing is a critical (re)definition of which tools can be employed in order to identify trauma in African art and cinema and, how trauma has been conceptualised outside of the strict terrain of ‘the unrepresentable’. Methodologically, the book relies on textual analysis of representations of trauma in Africa, arguing for the first time in a sustained volume about African art that the term ‘trauma’ is applicable in this cultural context. It is in this formulation that the volume is valuable to this thesis because it alerts me to the fact that intersections between African art (including films) and trauma are being grappled with. Although the editors consider this volume part corrective and part theoretical insertion into (Western) trauma studies scholarship, which they outline briefly in the introduction, the efficacy of the book is lost in the too easy lapse of theoretical issues around the crux of trauma studies and alternative trauma possibilities that have been explored before.

Cara Moyer-Duncan’s chapter in this volume engages with two ‘TRC films’: *Ubuntu’s Wounds* (Sechaba Morejele, 2001) and *Homecoming* (Norman Maake, 2005). Moyer-Duncan signals, in this chapter, a shift in scholarship about ‘TRC films’ to date. Although she defines the films as part of the post-apartheid TRC discourse, Moyer-Duncan also employs them in an argument related to trauma. Moyer-Duncan’s argument is that the films analysed in the chapter “...contest dominant cinematic

¹¹² Jacqueline Maingard, “Foreword” in Bisschoff and Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma*, p. xviii.

discourse on the TRC by aligning themselves with the black community that was politically marginalised and socially oppressed during apartheid”.¹¹³ This scholarship proceeds from previous work that is invested in the immediacy of the TRC as an event and begins to critically engage TRC films.

Other scholars have, to varying degrees, dealt with elements of trauma through the TRC in post-apartheid films. Bhekizizwe Peterson’s “Dignity, Memory and The Future Under Siege” puts forward the argument that there is a close relationship between ritual, trauma and reconciliation in the post-apartheid context.¹¹⁴ Relevant to Peterson’s article is Maingard’s 2008 chapter in the addition to the screenplay for *Zulu Love Letter*, in which she makes an argument for post-traumatic flashbacks being present in the film.¹¹⁵ These perspectives are taken into account in Chapter Three as Peterson and Maingard both identify trauma and articulate it as part of the fabric of post-apartheid in the films.¹¹⁶ Focusing on Ian Gabriel’s *Forgiveness* (2004) and Sechaba Morejele’s *Ubuntu’s Wounds* (2001), Lindiwe Dovey asserts that these films critique violence, while also being demonstrative of the contradictions of the TRC.¹¹⁷ Although Dovey is not explicitly interested in making arguments looking at trauma in African adaptations, her monograph is certainly invested in making certain assertions about TRC films and how they deal with the violence of the past.

Based on the scholarship discussed in this section, the thesis acknowledges the attempts that have been made to conceptualise memory and trauma in South African

¹¹³ Cara Moyer- Duncan, “Truth, Reconciliation and Cinema: Reflections on South Africa’s Recent Past in *Ubuntu’s Wounds* and *Homecoming*” in Bisschoff and Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma*, p. 278.

¹¹⁴ Bhekizizwe Peterson, “Dignity, Memory and the Future under Siege” in Opondo and Shapiro (eds.), *The New Violent Cartography: Geo-Analysis after the Aesthetic Turn* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 214 – 233.

¹¹⁵ Jacqueline Maingard, “Love, Loss, Memory and Truth” in Peterson and Suleman, *Zulu Love Letter*, pp. 5 – 17.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Dovey, *African Film and Literature*, pp. 53 – 56.

films, even in cases where the term ‘trauma’ has not been used. However, these attempts have been sparse and often of direct relevance only to films that signpost the narrative of trauma. In other words, not much has been considered in relation to films that do not express a direct correlation to the trauma of violence of an apartheid past. Hence, questions remain, such as: can trauma be identified in films in which the TRC is not an intrinsic part of the narrative? Do films show trauma as isolated to a specific era or event in South Africa? The films of Section Two of the thesis are primary examples through which to apply these questions. However, I seek to explore whether it might be possible that trauma is an unavoidable implication in an emergent South African context.

The following section considers some of the primary debates around memory and trauma studies and concludes with a brief discussion of three trauma and screen approaches that inform this thesis.

3.2 Memory and Trauma Studies: Perspectives and Theoretical Points

E. Anne Kaplan and Ban Wang put forward the following about trauma and traditional approaches to it:

The trauma of modernity has gone from push to shove. It simply boggles the mind or risks banalization to run down the list of all the major traumas of the modern world – all of which came in the wake of the three fundamental traumas associated with the loss of the absolute in the experience of modernity. While the twentieth century witnessed a climax of all the traumatic blows within the frame that Freud spoke of, the new millennium has run headlong into unthinkable catastrophes and forebodes more to come.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ E. Ann Kaplan and Ban Wang, “Introduction: from Traumatic Paralysis to the Force Field of Modernity” in Kaplan and Wang (eds.), *Trauma and Cinema: Cross Cultural Explorations* (Hong Kong and Aberdeen: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), p. 3.

An international conference titled “Frontiers Of Memory”, held in 1999, generated a series of publications edited by organisers Susannah Radstone and Katherine Hodgkin, including a special issue of *Screen*, titled “Trauma Dossier, Special Debate: Trauma and Screen Studies Opening The Debate”.¹¹⁹ In the introduction to the dossier, Radstone asks some of the following questions about the connections between Screen Studies and trauma scholarship:

...Is there a relation between screen media and trauma? If so, where should Screen Studies scholarship begin its analysis of this relation? Should such analysis take its impetus from texts, and if so, should the focus fall primarily on narration, or on mise-en-scène or on editing or so on? Or does trauma make itself felt in (can one say mark?) these media in the relation between their texts and their spectators – and if so, then how?¹²⁰

This question is important in this thesis and a major consideration of some of the seminal works about screen trauma studies.¹²¹ Although South Africa’s past was traumatic, I keep in mind what Radstone and Hodgkin identify as at the heart of trauma – the unrepresentable – that which cannot ever be represented again. The specific interrelation between this unrepresentability and the Holocaust is also a vital point to remain aware of in the analysis of trauma in the films discussed in the thesis. About the central issues of trauma studies, the relationship between the holocaust and trauma, the editors offer:

The specific horrors of the holocaust have generated a sense that it is a problem for representation in a way that no other event can be; that it is set

¹¹⁹ Susannah Radstone, “Introduction Trauma Dossier, Special Debate: Trauma and Screen Studies: Opening the Debate”, *Screen* 42:2 (2001), pp. 188 – 193.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 188.

¹²¹ Susannah Radstone and Katherine Hodgkin (eds.), *Memory Cultures: Memory, Subjectivity and Recognition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2005)., Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2006)., Susannah Radstone, *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000)., Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, “Introduction: Mapping Memory” in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010)., Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995).

apart, requiring its own language, its own theory; that, ultimately, discussion of holocaust memory should be somehow excused the norms of critical interchange... To the extent that trauma theory is a memory discourse, it aims precisely to summon up the presentness of memory, to insist on unfinished business: guilt and reparation remain the dominant themes.¹²²

Radstone undertakes a later comprehensive survey of trauma literature in relation to cultural works.¹²³ A valuable question posed is, "To what extent, (...), are the insights offered by trauma theory generalizable to the whole field of representation?"¹²⁴ This question is relevant also to the thesis which leans heavily on the field of representation in relation to films from the South African context. Jill Bennett articulates traumatic memory as "resolutely an issue of the present".¹²⁵ Her thesis makes the clear distinction and relation between "affective experience (sense memory) or representation (common memory)...".¹²⁶ Writing specifically about trauma and films, Janet Walker expresses the concept of a "trauma cinema...a group of films, each of which deals with a world-shattering event or events of the past...".¹²⁷

As a valuable point to remember in relation to the unique elements of the South African situation, Walker also writes that "trauma cinema is an international and transnational phenomenon", implying that the very relations across this kind of cinema invites a kind of openness to some of the definitions of national and other cinemas discussed in Section two of the literature review.¹²⁸ Walker's assertion also suggests that trauma cinemas exist outside of the realm of what is considered standard

¹²² Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin, "Believing the Body: Introduction" in Radstone and Hodgkin (eds.), *Contested Pasts*, p. 7.

¹²³ Susannah Radstone, "Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics" in *Paragraph* 30: 1 (2007), pp. 9 – 29.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²⁵ Jill Bennett, "The Aesthetic of Sense-Memory" in Radstone and Hodgkin (eds.), *Memory Cultures*, p. 35.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 32.

¹²⁷ Janet Walker, "Trauma Cinema: False Memories and True Experience" in Special Debate: Trauma and Screen Studies: Opening the Debate, *Screen* 42:2 (2001), p. 215.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 215

psychoanalytic scholarship about trauma and necessarily invites the concept of affect into analysis of this kind. Walker's insistence on the international and transnational scope of trauma cinema specifically, also references something of the relationship between how to name and frame a cinema as discussed in section two of the literature review.

The thesis is interested in showing how elements of trauma can be identified in individual post-apartheid identities and collective national representations in the selected films. The concern with memory and trauma in the thesis is thus in this very particular place of showing that post-apartheid identities are imbued with trauma and related sentiments that cannot always be neatly articulated. In spite of the unrepresentability of trauma, there are nevertheless elements of trauma that can be experienced through the characters and context of some of the films discussed. To this end, the scholarship on trauma cinema and affect is useful.

3.2.1 Trauma Cinema, 'Acting Out' and 'Working Through'

Janet Walker argues that cinema is "a narrative medium which allows for the coexistence of incompatible truths" which are related to fantasy in memories and are often dismissed as improvable and assumed untrue.¹²⁹ Walker argues for the coexistence of memory alongside the fantastical addition to that memory, what she calls "imaginary scenes".¹³⁰ Both are to be deemed as real and valuable, especially if, as trauma studies qualifies, we are to believe that post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is acknowledged precisely because traumatic memory assumes that the "event

¹²⁹ Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin, "Remembering Suffering: Introduction" in Radstone and Hodgkin (eds.), p. 100.

¹³⁰ Janet Walker "The Traumatic Paradox: Autobiography, Documentary and the Psychology of Memory" Radstone and Hodgkin (eds.), *Contested Pasts*, p. 109.

(was) too terrible to acknowledge non-traumatically”.¹³¹ For Walker, there is value in the ‘incorrect’ memory or altered facts of those memories due to fantasy, an element of memory permitted in memory studies but not in trauma because of memory’s more malleable relation to an event or happening versus trauma’s relation to the specific distress brought on by that happening.¹³²

Walker develops the term “the traumatic paradox”, which arises because “traumatic events can and do result in the very amnesias and mistakes in memory that are generally considered, outside the theory of trauma memory, to undermine their claim to veracity”.¹³³ This conception led Walker to engage with and define ‘trauma cinema’ as follows:

...a group of films, drawn from different genres, modes, and national cinemas, each of which deals with world-shattering events (...) in a non-realist style that figures the traumatic past as meaningful, fragmentary, virtually unspeakable and striated with fantasy constructions.¹³⁴

Elsaessar applies a similar concept to recent German cinema by edging ‘trauma cinema’ further and defining it as ‘parapractic cinema’, a cinema which enacts and represents the traumatic (and incompatible or ‘failed’) qualities that Walker refers to.¹³⁵ ‘Parapraxis’ is defined as comprised of two sides, “...the failed performance and the performance of failure”.¹³⁶ In another related conception of trauma and cinema, Joshua Hirsch in *After Image* offers the term ‘post-traumatic’ cinema to describe

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 107.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 109.

¹³⁵ Thomas Elsaessar, *Terror and Trauma: Cultural Memory since 1945* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), p. 321.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

German films that try to exhibit traumatic histories.¹³⁷ Despite their engagement with a radical exposition of how trauma and the cinema intersect and in which ways we may be able to call certain kinds of films, trauma films (whichever term one may go with), these scholars intersect in a return to a fundamental pre-requisite for trauma work to be defined as such, namely that the Holocaust and memory thereof as a pivotal and almost singular element in such a framework for analysis.

This might seem to automatically exclude the aims of this project, however, I remain interested in some of the ways in which what I consider as intersectional approaches apply to the ways in which trauma appears in the films. While Kaplan and Wang acknowledge “trauma (is) a debilitating kind of memory”, they choose not to concede that this in their international debates about trauma and memory. Instead, they are, as I am, interested in Dominick La Capra’s use of the Freudian concepts ‘acting out’ and ‘working through’, both also employed by Elsaesser and Joshua Hirsch in their discussions about German examples of trauma cinema.¹³⁸

Freud notes that, “...we may say that the patient does not *remember* anything of what he has forgotten and repressed, but *acts* it out... The greater the resistance, the more extensively will acting out (repetition) replace remembering”.¹³⁹ It is only through allowing the patient time with the resistant that the patient is able to “*work through* it, to overcome it...”.¹⁴⁰ Drawing on Freud, then, Kaplan and Wang note that the contributors to *Trauma and Cinema* “stage a similar critique” as La Capra, in order

¹³⁷ Joshua Hirsch, *Afterimage: Film, Trauma and the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

¹³⁸ Dominick La Capra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

¹³⁹ Sigmund Freud, “Remembering, Repeating and Working-Through (Further Recommendations on the Technique of Psycho-Analysis)”, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* Vol. XII (1911 – 1913): *The Case of Schreber, Papers on Technique and Other Works* (1914), pp. 150 – 151.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

to challenge “this notion of psychic paralysis by examining the distinction between acting out and working through”, the latter of which creates room for sustainable possibilities for change.¹⁴¹ La Capra distinguishes between ‘acting out’ and ‘working through’ as follows:

In acting out, one relives the past as if one *were* the other, including oneself as another in the past...In working through, one tries to acquire some critical distance that allows one to engage in life in the present, to assume responsibility – but that doesn’t mean that you utterly transcend the past. It means you come to terms with it...¹⁴²

In the South African examples used in this thesis, I am interested in keeping the concepts of ‘acting out’ and/ or ‘working through’ in mind in analyses of post-apartheid representations in order to assess what sensibilities might be discernible in new South African identities and subjectivities as seen in the selected films. These concepts invite possibilities for thinking about traumatised collective and individual identities and invite room for making sense of potentially emergent ways of being beyond the ‘acting out’ through the process of ‘working through’.

My interest in this concept for post-apartheid film analysis thus lies in thinking about how to articulate the presence of trauma in the films alongside what might be a new structure of feeling, and through thinking about how the trauma has manifested in ‘Rainbow Nation’ characters.

3.2.2 Trauma in films

While the scholars discussed in the above section emphasise both the larger concept of trauma and/ within trauma cinema, this section briefly highlights scholarship about trauma and affect in films. Jill Bennett argues that, if properly

¹⁴¹ Hirsch, *Afterimage*, p. 5.

¹⁴² La Capra, *Writing History*, p. 148.

conjured, affect “produces a real-time somatic experience, no longer framed as representation”.¹⁴³ In order for the impossibility of trauma to be represented, writes Bennett or, the only way to come close to what the traumatic experience was, is to call on an extreme affective experience, which resists processing in the way memory does.¹⁴⁴ In other words, it is not possible to represent trauma but it is, according to Bennett, possible to see and identify an emotion in a character or within the larger film. Susannah Radstone’s analysis of *Forrest Gump* (Robert Zemeckis, 1994) notes, “a point of affective identification through which traumatic memory begins to be worked through”.¹⁴⁵

Radstone’s thesis, like Bennett’s, is also not explicitly located in affect theory but rather straddles affect, psychoanalysis and trauma screen studies. Aware of the limitations of trauma studies, Radstone employs the term “affective identification” as a way of explicitly pointing out the presence and identification of trauma.¹⁴⁶ Such a definition provides an analytical tool through which traumatic experience can be identified on screen but not through which analysis is debilitated by the impenetrable (trauma as unrepresentable). It is thus possible, through the use of this approach, to identify the possibility of an experience *like* trauma, implying not that the viewer can experience it fully but rather that trauma can be registered as a particular kind of emotive response to a particular memory(ies) or, at the very least, a related consideration.

Another rendition by Bennett discusses how narrative film is open to “realist interpretation by virtue of characterisation – we see a character suffer, and we feel an

¹⁴³ Jill Bennett, “The Aesthetic of Sense-Memory” in Radstone and Hodgkin (eds.), *Memory Cultures*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Susannah Radstone, *Memory and Methodology*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

emotional response”.¹⁴⁷ It is “*transactive* rather than *communicative*”, resulting in an “affective transaction”.¹⁴⁸ Drawing on Brecht to consider an “affective transaction”, Bennett employs the former’s term ‘crude empathy’, defined as “a feeling for another based on the assimilation of the other’s experience to the self”.¹⁴⁹ Bennett’s engagement with the concept of ‘crude empathy’ related to the South African theatre piece about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, also suggests that there is room for such application in other narratives about the traumas of the South African past.¹⁵⁰

Such approaches to trauma and affect distinguish themselves as different from traditional affect studies that is more explicitly interested in how emotions “do things”.¹⁵¹ In the context of the thesis I employ the term trauma in relation to elements of films, particularly related to Section Two of the thesis. I do this, keeping in mind the ongoing trauma studies scholarship and, more explicitly relevant, trauma and screen studies and the various elisions that are bound up in such projects. Nevertheless, the films of chapters three and four are particularly concerned with imparting the memory(ies) of apartheid and the incompatible truths of the processes of and around the TRC, and I find that such a construction is not only useful but invites various new possibilities in South African film examples.

¹⁴⁷ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005), p. 7.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁰ Jane Taylor, *Ubu and The Truth Commission*, (Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press, 1998).

¹⁵¹ Sara Ahmed, “Affective Economics”, *Social Text* 22:2 (2004), p. 119.

Conclusion

This thesis draws on scholarship that intersects to identify collective and individual representations of the new nation of post-apartheid South Africa in selected films. Drawing on Williams' conception of thinking about structures of feeling as layered (and overlapping), the thesis engages with individual and collective 'acting out' and 'working through' of the apartheid past in a selection of anti-apartheid and post-apartheid films. And, at the same time, against this collective national milieu, the thesis investigates the potential for emergent characteristics of post-apartheid-ness in individual characters. This survey of literature has shown that although there is substantial scholarship about apartheid and post-apartheid cinema, there remain many avenues that can still be explored. This thesis is a consideration of some of these potential avenues of expression and critique.

Based on the literature surveyed I will develop two interrelated concerns in the post-apartheid cinema context: the first is to make an argument that while some post-apartheid films intend to show the past (memory films), others seek to go beyond and bring out the discomfort of that history (trauma). In order to do this, some films portray traumatic elements. Scholarship about South African films has generally focussed on thematic concerns about the nation in South African films. Such scholarship has in part provided important history about South African cinema and has also, inserted valuable Black film histories. Nevertheless, the nation on screen has been a dominant approach. This thesis veers away from such an approach.

The second concern that I set out to explore is around how trauma in the films might be part of a residual structure of feeling. If it is possible to identify a residual structure of feeling (through trauma), then part of the hypothesis is that an emergent

one must also then necessarily exist. The thesis spans a period of time in order to consider the possibility of a new structure of feeling that might be present through the characters and the context of the films. Attached to these interlinked periods: apartheid, the transitionary phase and post-apartheid, is also the idea that apartheid designated place in clearly defined ways, through race. Even though those legislative barriers are no more, new South African identit(ies) are complex and the thesis sets out to explore these ideas.

SECTION 1

Section One is comprised of a single chapter that deals with three films about apartheid South Africa. Two of the films, *A Dry White Season* and *Cry Freedom*, are distinctly Hollywood type films and employ casts and narratives that support didactic narratives for foreign audiences. *Mapantsula* is a local South African film.

Apartheid South Africa was a place in which people of different races were lawfully segregated. In this way, the place and the identities of the people were fixed in particular ways by the laws that governed the country. The analysis of the films of this chapter considers how the white and Black characters in the films were people who were out of place in this fixed context. Section One contains a single chapter because it is the only one that deals with anti-apartheid films and representations of that time in the country. The chapter serves as a way to see how the thesis progresses from the end of apartheid into post-apartheid.

CHAPTER TWO

ON THE BRINK OF FREEDOM: A DRY WHITE SEASON, CRY FREEDOM AND MAPANTSULA

Introduction

The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed because it makes people believe that something is being done when in reality the artificially integrated circles are a soporific to the blacks while salving the consciences of the guilt-stricken white. It works from the false premise that, because it is difficult to bring people from different races together in this country, achievement of this is in itself a step towards the total liberation of the blacks. Nothing could be more misleading.¹⁵²

South Africa was under apartheid rule from 1948 to 1994. In this period various Acts were passed which intensified racial segregation in all spheres of life in South Africa. In this period the population was racially divided into Black African, coloured, Cape coloured, Cape Malay, Indian and white. Throughout apartheid Black people fought against apartheid, first through peaceful and non-violent protests. One of the most important of these anti-apartheid protests was the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960, in which the most people were killed at an anti-apartheid march in the history of apartheid.

Sixteen years later, black school students took to the streets on 16 June 1976 to protest against being instructed in Afrikaans, the official language of Afrikaners and the National Party government. The dismantlement of apartheid came from a number of areas, one of them being international pressure brought on by sanctions. Alongside the growing anti-apartheid pressure from within South Africa and the global shifts of

¹⁵² Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (London: The Bowerdean Press, 1978), p. 65.

the end of the 1980s, there was significant need to consider that apartheid was no longer working. The late 1980s thus saw major changes with the release of Nelson Mandela and the active discussions between 1990 and 1993 in which he and other leaders of the African National Party and the leaders of the National Party such as newly elected President F.W. De Klerk negotiated the terms of the new South Africa. The first democratic election was held on 27 April 1994. Some of what is briefly summarised here also provides background context to the films of this chapter.

Keyan Tomaselli writes that although racism is not something unique to the context of apartheid South Africa, “its legal form as shaped by the specific dominant ideology is”.¹⁵³ Tomaselli’s *The Cinema Of Apartheid* surveys the apartheid cinema terrain, however, the analysis does not extend beyond films after 1985. Nevertheless, Tomaselli notes the dominant ideology of racism, separate development and apartheid film censorship that enforced apartheid from 1948 to 1994. In this place, apartheid South Africa, ideology and identities were legally fixed by race and place.

There was often little scope for individual dissonances because collective racial and ethnic culture was such an overwhelming component of being South African. This chapter is about characters who step out of the official constructions of apartheid South African-ness. These conspicuously ‘out of place’ characters, as they might be described, dispel the rules and fixed forms of apartheid and this chapter explores what such characters show us about anti-apartheid. The chapter undertakes this approach so as not to recapitulate previous scholarship about apartheid cinema but rather to explore how the narratives contextualised within apartheid can show us something

¹⁵³ Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, p. 13.

about racial factions and the differences between individual and collective choices in the well documented anti-apartheid stories.

This chapter considers three anti-apartheid films of the late 1980s: *Cry Freedom* (Richard Attenborough, 1987), *Mapantsula* (Oliver Schmitz, 1988) and *A Dry White Season* (Euzhan Palcy, 1989). This era in South Africa is representative of heightened socio-political and economic concerns that somewhat pull against each other: anxiety and fear as it became increasingly clearer that apartheid would end soon and conversely, an emotion that was not entirely permitted just yet: the anticipated excitement around what that reality might look like even though apartheid had not yet been dismantled.

Tomaselli points out that the publication of his monograph coincides with the fast dismantlement of apartheid because of growing internal and external pressures. While Tomaselli provides an extensive outline and engagement with apartheid-era films and subsidised films for Blacks, Jacqueline Maingard writes that it was not until the 1980s that a significant and noticeable anti-apartheid cinema came to mean something in South Africa.¹⁵⁴ Although she points out that this took place primarily through documentary films, she also highlights *Mapantsula* (Oliver Schmitz, 1988) as “the exemplary film of the era” (emphasis mine).¹⁵⁵ *A Dry White Season* and *Cry Freedom* are set in an era a decade earlier in which it is significantly clear that the height of apartheid is the context of the films. Set within the same era, *A Dry White Season* takes place against the backdrop of the 1976 June 16 student uprising, while

¹⁵⁴ Jacqueline Maingard, “South African Cinema: Histories and Futures”, *Screen* 48: 4 (Winter 2007), p. 513.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

Cry Freedom incorporates Steve Biko's 1977 death, which occurred while he was detained in police custody.

Incorporating these films of the late 1980s invites a position that includes the transitional period of the end of apartheid without trying to incorporate films that compete with the official actions of the early 1990s: primarily the interim government and the 1994 elections. The issues of the early 1990s are found in the films of this chapter as well as the films of Section Two of the thesis.

As part of thinking about one of the research questions of the thesis, this chapter is interested in what these films tell us about being South African during apartheid. A further concern of the chapter relates to keeping in mind who these films were made for. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section has a two-pronged intention and addresses the main Black and white male protagonists in *A Dry White Season (Dry White)* and *Cry Freedom*. In the first instance, this section discusses why and how the white and Black men are 'out of place' in apartheid. Secondly, the section discusses the unions between the white and Black men to convey the idea that the end of apartheid was borne of joint struggle against the apartheid government. The second part of section one thus considers different sets of relationships to show how the films construct a dialogue about apartheid, political awakening and active change in a way that explicitly shows the processes of liberation from apartheid. Section two focuses on *Mapantsula* and the differences between this film and *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom*. The final section of the chapter briefly considers the ways in which the women characters in these films are represented in order to show how, although the men actively partake in making the changes, it proves to be the women's

responsibility to hold society together in very precarious and sometimes dangerous ways. A significant body of scholarship about apartheid cinema informs this chapter.¹⁵⁶

For the most part, the thesis addresses narratives and representations of the new nation on film. However, it is impossible to trace the progression (or stagnation) of South African filmic representations without analysing what is identified in this chapter as models of liberation film narratives and what Julie Reid terms, “the history film or mythical films”.¹⁵⁷ *Mapantsula* presents a different take on apartheid South Africa. Co-written by director Oliver Schmitz and Thomas Mogotlane, who also plays main protagonist, Panic, the film received much critical acclaim because of how it presents apartheid from a Black point of view in 1980’s South Africa.

¹⁵⁶ In addition to Tomaselli and Maingard already cited, also useful to the considerations of this chapter are: Julie Reid, “The Remythologisation of White Collective Identities in Post-Apartheid South African Film by Myth and Counter Myth”, *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 38:1 (2012), pp. 45 - 63., Vivian Bickford-Smith, “Reviewing Hollywood’s Apartheid: Cry Freedom (1987) and Dry White Season (1989)”, *South African History Journal* 48: 1 (May 2003)., Victoria Carchidi, “South Africa from Text to Film: Cry Freedom and A Dry White Season” in John. D. Simons (ed.), *Literature and Film in the Historical Dimension: Selected Papers From The 15th Florida State University Conference on Literature and Film* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press Of Florida, 1994), pp. 47 – 62., Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood: South African Culture and The World Beyond* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994).

¹⁵⁷ Reid, “Post-Apartheid South African Film by Myth and Counter Myth”, p. 49.

Part One

White and Black Anti-Apartheid Masculinities in *Cry Freedom* and *A Dry White Season*

The opening shots of *Cry Freedom* establish the viewer in a place that has been designated for Black people by the apartheid government: a township in Cape Town. The sequence incorporates what is made to look like documentary footage, which shows a quiet informal settlement with a few small shacks and narrow roads as the setting. A few women pass on the street and the rising sun is just about visible in a wide-angle establishing shot of the township in Cape Town, illustrated by the image of Table Mountain within the frame. The quiet serenity of the sleepy place is quickly jolted when a young boy blows a whistle as a warning for residents to know that the police are arriving. The sound of typewriter keys correlates with the opening credits of the film and is the first introduction to the news room, a place which in the 1970s was filled with typewriters and which is important in this film as white protagonist, Donald Woods (Kevin Kline), is the editor of a newspaper. The raid continues to show houses being destroyed, accompanied by general mayhem as people frantically try to save family members and a few personal items.

The viewer has already seen protagonist Donald Woods (Kevin Kline) in his editorial office by the time he and Steve Biko (Denzel Washington) meet for the first time in King Williams Town. Steve is under house arrest and is introduced through the rhetoric of Black Consciousness. Further clues to Biko's character are presented in the opening scenes of the film when a young man puts up a poster of Biko after the raid in Crossroads Township. The camera focuses on the poster for just long enough to make out the name Steve Biko around the portrait. The first time Biko himself appears on

screen is in this meeting with Woods. These encounters, which take place in the first fifteen minutes of the film, introduce the main protagonists, Donald Woods, “a true liberal”, as described by Biko in their first meeting, and the second, Steve Biko, a revolutionary “with dangerous ideas”, as described by Woods at the same meeting.

A wide-angle shot shows Donald Woods’ approach into King Williams Town, where Biko is under house arrest. His Mercedes Benz comes to a halt in front of a church building which serves as a community centre of sorts where Biko’s wife (as she introduces herself) runs a space for Black people to meet and learn various crafts and skills. Woods is welcomed by Biko’s wife, who leads him through the building to a back door. She indicates that Biko can be found out there. On exiting the sanctuary of the church, Woods takes in the surroundings in the seemingly empty churchyard. Woods is in a medium shot when a bright light is directed at him, causing him to squint. The light appears to be coming from the weeping willow’s leaves. From Woods’ point of view, we see what looks like the image of a man, Steve Biko. Biko stands in a kind of makeshift circle, protected from sight by the leaves of the weeping willow. It is a camouflage through which he can partially see the world but also through which the world can partially see him. Donald has to squint to make sense firstly of where Biko is in the yard and secondly to try to make out Woods’ silhouette from within the leafy circle.

The way in which they are both positioned is part of the construction of the trepidation and sense of the unknown both around the situation of their meeting and the larger context of apartheid South Africa. In a way, such a representation is indicative of what comes across as fumbling in the dark. Even though they are both unsure of how the meeting will unfold, it is Biko who has really constructed this initial

meeting to be so covert. In a way, it is also Biko who is able to see more from behind the weeping willow as Woods has the light reflected in his eyes. *Cry Freedom* makes few attempts at showing Black assertion in action outside of white partnership, and this is one of the occasions on which it does so through the initial characterisation of Biko.

The following shot is of a small room that looks like a study. The scene opens with a medium close-up of Steve in the centre of the frame. To the right of Biko's head is a photograph of Nelson Mandela against the wall. We see Woods' cautious entry into the small room from Biko's perspective. A shot-reverse-shot pattern follows as Biko speaks first. The two are positioned opposite each other in a small room. Both are cautious and curious and immediately take to critical engagement with the ideological beliefs of the other. Biko begins to speak as soon as Woods is standing opposite him in the room. He begins with an explanation of what house arrest means, that he would have met Woods in the hall but that this would have meant he was breaking the rules of the ban. He ends with a judgement of Woods, saying that he probably approves of Biko's ban. When Woods explains that this is not true Biko retorts with a smile, "A true white liberal...". Subsequently, Woods mentions that he finds Biko's ideas dangerous and that he is proud to be a liberal. Woods also challenges Biko when he wonders out loud what Biko would do if he was the one with the job, the house, the Mercedes and it was the whites who lived in the townships. On this note Biko chuckles and says that that is a charming idea.

This initial interaction also points out how these two characters know that in this place they are both out of place, Biko because he is under house arrest and he is a black man in apartheid South Africa and Woods because he is a white man spending

time with a black man who the state thinks is dangerous. Whatever Woods' liberal intentions have been up until this point, they necessarily shift after his meeting with Biko because he is forced to become more aware of his position in relation to Blacks. After the brief introductory banter, which was framed as both intense and measured, the two men seem to relax. This is reinforced by a distinct shift in how they are framed when the camera moves to a different part of the room to capture both men in a full length wide angle shot as they reach out their arms to shake hands. The adjacent room is dark while the room that Biko and Woods are in is light. The difference in lighting expresses the special sentiment of this unlikely union, that their meeting has made something dark enter the light showing new possibilities where they not been any before. The pair sit down at Steve's desk after they shake hands, as though they have come to an amicable agreement about their mutual 'out of place' positionalities in apartheid. The showing of differences between Black and white places in apartheid invites a way of seeing the physical and psychological geography of apartheid. For example, in the aftermath of Woods' visit to Biko, he returns to his own home.

It is a warm day and the scene opens with the sound of splashing water and laughter. Woods is in a large pool in his own garden surrounded by his children, pool toys and a happy dog. Wendy Woods, his wife appears and is shot from a low angle as she descends the stairs through the garden to meet her family at the pool. Positioned side-by-side in reclining lounge chairs, Wendy and her husband chat about his recent meeting with Biko. Woods excitedly tells her about it as well as his upcoming visit to the township, to which Wendy cautiously asks whether Woods is now also into Biko's philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC). This idyllic picture is in contrast to the different images of Black people that have been seen in the film before, such as the frantic township raid, Biko's house arrest and the community centre. All the while, this

contrast is made distinctly unavoidable as their black domestic helper comes to them for drinks orders, and as the laughter and splashing sometimes overwhelm the backtrack. The sounds seem to clamour for as much attention as the 'important' political discussion taking place, which conveys a feeling that Wood and Biko's meeting is an adventure for Donald, almost as though it is not truly real life.

Rob Nixon's assertions ring true when he writes that Attenborough used Woods, a white journalist, as a bridge to a larger audience.¹⁵⁸ This decision has two repercussions, the first being that having a white male protagonist in this role contradicted the fundamental premise of Biko's Black Consciousness philosophy and second, "it refracted a radical South African political movement through Hollywood's most durable liberal formula for dealing with the 'Third World'".¹⁵⁹

Nevertheless, *Cry Freedom* fundamentally returns to this 'out of place' consideration, that both Biko and Woods exist outside of what is racially normative in apartheid South Africa. In light of this, we already know that Donald Woods is a liberal and is set up this way from the outset however, Biko is naturally something else, emphasised throughout the film as *beyond* an ordinary black man. After the meeting in King William's Town, Woods for instance describes Biko as "very intelligent" to Wendy. In the township scene Woods asks Biko's friends how he became so articulate. In the township scene however, it is Woods that is made aware of the fact that township life is not only an abstract apartheid creation but that it is a world in which real people live. Although Biko says this to him, it is in a very brief instance that he experiences this himself. Although the film leans heavily towards didacticism, it has moments, like this one, in which it expresses something about how the separateness

¹⁵⁸ Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, pp. 82 – 83.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

of Black and white experiences of apartheid extends beyond the inflated interactions of Biko and Woods.

Most of the scene in the township takes place at a local shebeen. Woods is seated at a packed table and watches the dancing crowd (and the dancing Biko) with great curiosity. Donald asks Biko's friends many questions above the loud music prominent on the soundtrack. He is particularly interested in Biko's education and how he became so articulate. The setting is akin to a fun and noisy bar, like atmosphere in which people are simply having a good time. Apartheid itself is almost forgotten here, except for the blacks-only crowd. Biko is often shown from Woods' point of view and when Woods is shown it is often in a medium close-up, an indication of the intensity of this new experience for him in relation to Biko's carefree nature.

Woods' adventure is thus jolted when he sees a young girl of school age leave the dance floor to enter through a makeshift fabric curtain. On the other side of the curtain is an old woman in bed. Her one eye is visible but the other seems damaged as it is closed. It is not clear whether Woods' surprised expression is related to the presence of the young girl in the shebeen or to the older woman but his discomfort is perceived after he and the older woman exchange a look. His stare exposes his shock that her reality is part of the party scene. She stares back with her one open eye. It is unclear whether she can actually see him through both eyes but they hold each other's gaze in this way for a few moments. She is awake because it seems impossible to sleep through the loud music, noise, drunken chatter and all-round party atmosphere. They are both shot in medium close-ups, conveying the intensity of the experience for both of them: for her, great disruption but also a sense of resignation that this is simply how it is. For Woods, his expression reveals a mixture of shock and guilt

because moments ago he had been enjoying himself and was completely unaware of the fact that the same venue also serves as a family home. Woods pulls himself back to the party as he shifts his eyes back to the table. Biko soon returns to the table and the conversation reverts to politics.

This short encounter between Woods and the elderly woman is a sobering experience for the main protagonist. Although part of this scene shows Biko and Woods walking the streets of the township while Biko explains the extremities of the Black apartheid experience, it is not until this encounter that something shifts for Woods. In the context of the shebeen, Woods realises how he and the elderly woman are not quite where they belong: he as the only white man in the illegal shebeen and the woman because she is not able to have the peace she could benefit from because this is how her family makes money. However, it is only Woods who is physically and psychologically out of place in the larger context of the fixed categories of apartheid. For the old woman (and the girl), this is quite simply a rather desperate and inconvenient life but it remains Black reality.

Biko too, is a character out of place in the fixed presuppositions of apartheid but whereas Woods is a brave anti-apartheid hero, Biko is an exceptional, intellectual Black whose polemical standpoint is lost in the film. *Cry Freedom* succeeds in its liberal education because the film was primarily not geared at a local South African audience. Rob Nixon writes that "...Woods' story about Biko is quickly supplanted with Woods' story about Woods, resulting in an acute case of displaced heroism...".¹⁶⁰ Similarly,

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike writes that *Cry Freedom* deals with sensitive African themes “but that the focus is on white characters rather than black ones”.¹⁶¹

Two major occurrences signal a shift in the film. The first is Biko’s death, which signals the end of the politically astute part of the film heralded by Biko’s Black Consciousness education of Woods. The second is that Woods himself is placed under a five-year house arrest, a constant reminder for the duration of the film of the conditions under which he and Biko met. In a scene that takes place after Woods is banned, we see him in his home office while Biko’s voice is prominent on the soundtrack. Woods is in close-up as he mulls over Biko’s voice and teachings about how Biko negotiated his way around the ban. In a much earlier scene, when Woods and Biko drive to a Black-run community clinic, Woods asks Biko if the police always follow him, to which Biko answers that *they think* they do. When Woods is placed under the security ban the viewers are reminded of Biko and Woods’ first meeting. Hearing Biko’s voice again in this much later scene after his death, it suggests the persistence of Biko in the present. It is in this spirit that the film hurtles forward as an adventure melodrama in which Woods is now somehow part-infused with Biko’s energy.¹⁶²

After Biko’s death, the film problematically constructs Biko and his memory through how Woods recalls their friendship. Biko is thus only memorialised through Woods, who from the outset, differs from Biko. Biko speaks of Black Consciousness while Woods speaks of liberal values. Liberalism was not the foundation of Black consciousness ideology and, as Biko himself points out in the film before and after the shebeen scene, liberalism was something that Biko scoffed at. Although Biko is the

¹⁶¹ Ukadike, *Black African Cinema*, p. 126.

¹⁶² Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 84.

Black hero and mythologised as such, his death and his watered-down ideology in the film, are both concretised in memory through Woods, his family and, similarly to *A Dry White Season (Dry White)*, the sacrifices *they* made for anti-apartheid justice. As Nixon puts it, "...instead of simply enacting Biko's values through the human drama of friendship, Attenborough's structural commitment to that friendship betrays and obscures the very principles that Biko died for".¹⁶³ While Biko and Woods are different kinds of 'out of place' characters, their friendship works because they are both dissident characters from the outset. Biko is radical in his Black Consciousness and Woods is emphatic about his liberal position as editor. Both are set up as characters who fundamentally do not support apartheid.

The main protagonists of *Dry White* are different. Ben Du Toit (Donald Sutherland) is a staunch Afrikaner and is shown this way from the outset. Gordon Ngubene (Winston Ntshona), in his role as the black gardener to the Du Toits, is shown to be an amenable Black man. Both know their geographical and psychological places in apartheid South Africa and within this, the normalised hierarchy of race in apartheid. *Dry White* relies on the intimate narrative of a family, in which Ben Du Toit's life is affected by the deaths of Black characters who he knows. This is a different relationship, for example, to the one between Woods and Biko, who are consistently shown as each other's intellectual equals, even though this is constantly as necessary to mention. This is not the case in *Dry White* in which Gordon does not address Ben by his first name but as 'Mr Ben' to show respect even though they appear to be about the same age.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Dry White also relies on juxtaposing the white and Black geography of apartheid. The opening sequence is of two young boys – one white, one black – playing on an immaculate lawn. They are Ben and Gordon’s sons, Johan and Jonathan. The music of popular Black band, LadySmith Black Mambazo, is prominent on the soundtrack as we watch the boys in this carefree freedom of childhood.¹⁶⁴ The idyllic moment ends abruptly when the diegetic sounds of the film introduce the next scene: a government beer hall in South Africa in 1975. The beer hall is filled with elderly Black men drinking out of large, plastic jugs of beer. As young militant boys enter, tension mounts as the leader pleads with the men to boycott the beer halls. Followed by a short scene showing a police raid on a township, the context of the two different realities of apartheid South Africa is set.

The multi-racial opening scene is followed with an excited Ben Du Toit and his wife, who cheer on their son at a school rugby match. The lawns are immaculate and the stands are full of parents who are there to support their children. The sport is a bastion of Afrikanerdom and as the camera pans the supporters’ stand, it becomes clear that all of them and all the players are white. Albert Grundlingh writes that,

Rugby might have originated in England and subsequently been exported to the colonies, but, in line with the wider Afrikaner quest for independent nationhood, the game came to be an integral part of the attempt to transform and transcend the imperial heritage by reformulating and modifying the values associated with it.¹⁶⁵

The fact that the sport exists as an important bastion of apartheid culture means that even this scene of cheering on a primary school team of young white boys is about more than just the game or those boys. Considered against important

¹⁶⁴ The image also references *E’Lollipop* (Dir: Ashley Lazarus, 1975), a film made more than a decade before which also shows the cross-racial friendship of two young boys during apartheid.

¹⁶⁵ Albert Grundlingh, “Playing for Power? Rugby, Afrikaner Nationalism and Masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900 – 1970”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11:3 (December 1994), p. 413.

constructions of nationalism and tradition, a celebration of rugby in this scene is also the celebration of apartheid South Africa and the constant cheering on of its progress and development. The young boys on the field are not only the future South African rugby team but they are the future leaders of apartheid.

Palcy thus focuses on showing what life could have looked like if apartheid did not exist and then focuses on drawing the separatist apartheid lines through the geography of apartheid. It is telling that for white life to be contextualised, the viewer needs to see the expanse of the white home (singular). This is in direct opposition to the Black home that is viewed as a mass of poverty, through scenes set in the township in which the camera often offers the viewer an aerial shot to show the cramped spaces and overpopulation.

In the first of a series of appeals from Gordon to Ben, the aftermath of the rugby game is the comfortable Du Toit household, where the family are having a relaxed braai. Gordon and his son Jonathon unexpectedly arrive at the Du Toit household after the family has returned from the rugby game. Present are Du Toit's wife, Susan, their daughter, her husband and baby and Johan, who appears in the opening scene with Jonathon. The scene is set outside and briefly shows all the family members enjoying the lazy sunny day: Ben on the grass with his toddler grandson and daughter, Johan, still dressed in his rugby attire, sneakily stealing a piece of meat from the fire while his brother-in-law takes care of the cooking and swats at him for his mischief, and Ben's wife, Suzette, making sure the table is set and that the sides are ready. It is Johan, Ben's young son who first notices Gordon and Jonathan walking up the pathway to the house. He is shot in a close-up which shows his concerned face as

he whispers, "Jonathan". The following shot reveals a medium close-up of Ben looking concerned at the reason for the visit, bloody slashes across Jonathan's backside.

A close-up of the boy's backside conveys the severity of a police beating. While Gordon wants Ben's assistance in ensuring that his son will not have a criminal record, Ben's concern is limited to the state of Jonathan's bottom. He instructs his wife to get some ointment. Gordon dismisses the physical wound, appealing to Ben at another level: a wound of the heart and the mind. A series of medium close-ups are utilised to express the desperation on Gordon's part. But while his pleas aid in the establishment of the lack of understanding between Black and white apartheid life, they achieve little else for Gordon. Ben dismisses what happened to Jonathan as punitive for a justifiable reason.

This scene is instructive in how it contrasts Black and white experiences of apartheid. Ben shows what many Afrikaners believed, which is that whatever treatment was enforced on Blacks was justified. Gordon expresses the experience of a generation of Blacks who knew the violence of apartheid but were unable to deal with it. Jonathan, his death, and the death of young school children, are however briefly shown to be part of the pre-emergent anti-apartheid expressions. Although the chapter does not deal with this aspect of a pre-emergent and/ or emergent structure of feeling during apartheid in great detail, it is a valuable issue that *Dry White* points to, but one which is lost in the larger narrative of Ben Du Toit as a martyr and anti-apartheid hero. Although Jonathan is not part of the storyline of *Dry White* for very long, the character is important because of how he explains white domination to his older father.

Although Ben pays for Jonathan's school fees, the boy does not feel indebted to the white man and displays a sense of youthful vigour that is not seen in his father's character. The June 1976 Soweto uprising had a focussed agenda in which school children marched against tuition in Afrikaans. Hence the scene in which Jonathan and his brother (unnamed in the film) stand up to Gordon is vital in also progressing Gordon's anger against the apartheid system. Jonathan explicitly tells his father that being taught in Afrikaans will keep Black men being miners and garden boys. Even though Gordon is offended, he realises that his own two sons are already witnessing their father being emasculated. Gordon, who calls his employer 'Mr Ben' until his death, does not come to truly embody this defiant spirit seen briefly in his son, but his death acts as a catalyst for Ben to learn more about apartheid. Gordon is only momentarily 'out of place' when he demands answers around his son's death.

The logic of justified punishment for Blacks, articulated by Ben in the braai scene, contributes to an understanding that many whites simply did not know what happened to Blacks during apartheid.¹⁶⁶ As Biko proffered in *Cry Freedom*, in apartheid, Black people had intimate details of how the whites live because they cleaned their houses, cooked their meals, tended their gardens, however, white people had very little knowledge of the realities of Black life and many believed the apartheid government. This is something that *Cry Freedom* attends to, albeit briefly, in the moment when Woods sees the older woman through the curtain. However, even after a series of actions that lead to Ben not being able to ignore apartheid's injustices, it is only through the protagonist's relationship with a white foreign woman,

¹⁶⁶ Melissa E. Steyn, *Whiteness just isn't what it used to be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).

Melanie, that he is able to truly comprehend the vast differences of Black and white apartheid reality.

A later scene shows Gordon working in the flowerbeds of the Du Toit garden. Gordon wears a stoic expression, which is juxtaposed against Ben and Johan playfully swatting each other with towels. Both are dressed in white shorts and t-shirts indicating, as with the braai scene, playfulness and fun in contrast to Gordon. Ben is surprised to learn that Jonathan has been arrested after more riots in the townships and decides to make a few phone calls to find out what happened to the boy. Ben learns of Jonathan's death and shares the news with Gordon. After Ben again instructs Gordon to simply let the issue go, we see yet another development also in Gordon's anger. It is as though Gordon wants to hold onto his belief in Ben and as though Ben wants to hold onto his belief in the system. Although Ben realises the severity of the police in the townships he has yet to actually make the active shift to anti-apartheid logic. Jonathan was part of the 1976 Soweto uprising depicted in the film and in the aftermath Gordon and his wife Emily go to mortuaries, hospitals and police stations.

As the camera pans the room of a mortuary it becomes clear that all the bodies are clothed in school uniforms. Some have been stacked on the floor and as the pan continues we see the tragedy of the blood and wounds. The same children were shown in the march as unarmed, vibrant and radical. The camera's survey of the bodies raises the question of what these school children could possibly have done to have warranted their deaths. Gordon's death, which follows not too long after, is what it takes for Ben to really begin to ask questions. Gordon's death is what it takes for Ben to realise that the apartheid government is not interested in protecting all its citizens. It serves as a springboard for Ben to become increasingly more 'out of place'. Through

a union which is formed between Ben and Stanley (John Kani), a family friend of Gordon and his wife Emily, and, a white woman outsider, Melanie (Susan Sarandan), *Dry White* progresses to exhibit an unlikely union between unlikely characters in the fight against apartheid. While Stanley plays a critical role in the education of a white man, the true confirmation of apartheid reality comes from a similarly liberal character to the Woods family in *Cry Freedom*.

Melanie is an English journalist who Ben meets in the course of his enlightenment in relation to the realities of apartheid. Ben is deeply distressed after the inquest into Gordon's death (which he insisted upon), which revealed the outright injustices of apartheid. As Ben tries to find a way out of the crowds Melanie pulls up in her blue VW and offers him a quick exit. The inquest proved what Ian McKenzie (Marlon Brando), the liberal lawyer, told Ben on his visit to him about the case: that "law and justice can be described as distant cousins... in South Africa, those cousins are not on speaking terms at all".

As Ben and Melanie walk through her garden to the house we hear the sound of soothing piano music. It serves as a useful passage to relocate the viewer from the mayhem of the previous scene outside the courthouse to a more tranquil setting from which they (the characters) and we (the viewers) can take in the full extent of the meaning of the previous scene. Melanie's father has been playing the piano and he stops when the pair enters the house. In the living room Ben and Melanie have a short discussion about the events of the day. Ben finally admits, more to himself than to Melanie, that he has been naïve for too long. The camera captures them both in medium close-ups in this exchange in which Melanie finally welcomes him to South Africa. In so doing she critiques Ben's excuse that he simply did not know this was

what was happening in South Africa. It is thus Melanie who is shown to explicitly tell Ben that he has benefited from apartheid and that the race to fight the system is a long and gruelling one.

This is different to Stanley or Gordon's role and relationship to Ben. Gordon's death comes to mean more than his life and while Stanley is able to take Ben to the township and show him where the blacks live, it is only through a white foreign woman that Ben is able to really acknowledge the harshness of that reality. This scene is significant in how *Dry White* is able to show and confirm that Ben's life has changed, that he is now, with this new knowledge from the inquest, completely outside of his previous identity and certainly 'out of place' as a white man in apartheid. Even though Melanie (liberal, British, robust and opinionated) is not the same as Du Toit, the way she looks and sounds is familiar to the majority of the audience of the time and so not only is it easier for Ben to get the most explicit articulation around apartheid's difficulties from her, it is also easier for the viewer.

These relationships are also complex as they illustrate that Ben's enlightenment is significantly different to Donald's. Ben is relegated to the status of outcast. Not only is the character 'out of place' in that he begins to exist outside of the realm of what is normative for him as a staunch Afrikaner patriarch but he is also, in a way, excommunicated from the group identity. His wife and daughter remind him that he is not 'one of them', referring to Blacks. In a scene which takes place between Susan and Ben in the kitchen, it comes to light that Susan was also at Gordon's inquest. Even though she knew that black people were being treated in such horrific ways, she still sought to defend the actions of the state.

In Ben's relationships with Stanley and Gordon, we are shown how the Black men characters are immortalised as heroic alongside Ben, albeit, as Biko espoused, through Black Consciousness and self-emancipation. *Dry White* does not present the Black characters in this way. The incorporation of a character like Melanie stresses this point even further because it is only through her, as a foreigner, that the anti-apartheid narrative can be validated. While Melanie is naturally 'out of place' in apartheid, herself instead a symbol of a place where things are not only different, but better, Ben is a symbol of the ultimate sacrifice of apartheid. In the scene at Melanie's house, a close-up of Ben reveals the extent of the realisation of apartheid and his resignation is shown to infiltrate into his relationships to the point where, at the end of the film, he knows that his daughter hands over documents to the security police.

Rebecca Aanerud notes that, "this shift from guilt to innocence is predicated on the false assumption that a white person who does not participate in 'extreme' racist acts is not racist".¹⁶⁷ It is through the acts of failure to secure an inquest into Gordon's death, its failure for justice, and the eventual denouement in the narrative of Ben himself that the film concludes on a tragic heroic note. Drawing on Aanerud, Ben Du Toit thus becomes a symbol not of guilt but of innocence. Ben's 'out of place' character is partly self-imposed and partly externally inflicted. In being aware of this, empathy in the film is directed in two ways and while we know Ben was a naïve Afrikaner, we believe his innocence through the martyrdom of knowing that he died for justice for Gordon.

¹⁶⁷ Rebecca Aanerud, "Fictions of Whiteness: Speaking the Names of Whiteness in U.S. Literature" in Ruth Frankenberg (ed.), *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 49.

The scenes discussed above emphasise that the relationships between Black and white in apartheid South Africa (as evidenced in *Woods and Biko* and *Ben and Gordon*, and later, *Ben and Stanley*), are not normal relationships. There is a sense that not only the relationships but also the actions that take place because of these cross-racial relationships are exceptional and commendable. The heroic accolades associated with such commendation are constructed around white men in these films because of their ability to extract themselves (and often their families) from the unfair inequalities of apartheid. Their sacrifices are thus understood through the films as acts without which apartheid would not have ended. Black characters in turn are mythologised as strong and resilient and, dependent on the Black man's social standing, written into history as special. Biko for example has been mythologised for his writings about Black consciousness but characters like Gordon are written into history as part of the masses of Black people damaged, affected and killed by apartheid.

Kelly Madison highlights the following three points which are useful to the discussion of how white supremacy works in such films:

- 1) by defining white supremacy in a particularly distant, extreme, blatant, and therefore superficial way, 2) by systematically privileging 'white' experiences of those struggles for African peoples' equality over African experiences and 3) by constructing a paternalistic form of white supremacy as the ideological framework within which to understand the critical historical moments in the struggles for equality.¹⁶⁸

Both *Cry Freedom* and *Dry White* represent patriarchal sacrifice that foreign audiences could empathise with. Termed anti-apartheid films, neither of these features dramatically engages apartheid in ways beyond images of violence, which

¹⁶⁸ Kelly Madison, "Legitimation, Crisis and Containment: 'The anti-racist-white-hero'; film", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 16:4 (1999), pp. 405 – 406.

audiences were already familiar with through news footage. Both films recreate protest marches to situate the context and heightened violence of apartheid. Both Du Toit and Woods manage to garner public attention, even in death in Du Toit's case and escape in Woods'. However, although both Woods and Du Toit are not in South Africa by the end of the films, both have also been released from the white male perpetrator role through their heroic deeds. This vindication emphasises an ending which not only glorifies the liberator friendships between Black and white men in these films but also extends this almost congratulatory sensibility to others who might be like the white main protagonists. Victoria Carchidi writes that, at each film's core, there is a reflection on the audiences preconceived ideas rather than a massive alteration in thinking.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Carchidi, "South Africa from Text to Film", p. 47.

Part Two

Mapantsula: A Black Perspective Anti-Apartheid Film: the Case of Panic, the 'Tsotsi'

The 1988 film *Mapantsula* is about the coming to consciousness of a township tsotsi (township gangster) named Panic. Directed by Oliver Schmitz and co-written by Schmitz and Thomas Mogotlane, who plays the lead Panic, *Mapantsula's* critical acclaim is derived from its ability to show and explore an apartheid narrative from the perspective of a Black lead, which is not mediated through a white lead. Litheko Modisane writes that the film recasts the gangster genre from "a typical Hollywood fare", and draws on Third Cinema and a direct political narrative.¹⁷⁰ The film was released in the years between the two big-budget films discussed in the first part of this chapter. Panic's consciousness is a different kind of consciousness to what is presented in the films discussed in the previous section. In those films, the main goal was to educate liberal foreign audiences by way of showing the Black and white protagonists as characters, who were fundamentally out of place in a very fixed place, apartheid South Africa.

Mapantsula's focus is different: Schmitz and Mogotlane present a more complex form of consciousness which refers to Biko's BC ideology when, for instance, Panic learns about the political importance and resilience of unions from his fellow cellmates. However, what makes the film so valuable is that it is able to depict the everyday life of a young black man, who is not explicitly interested in the politics of apartheid South Africa. He later comes to embody the ideals of Black psychological liberation by Black people themselves. *Mapantsula* has been discussed at length in

¹⁷⁰ Modisane, *Renegade Reels*, p. 100.

film scholarship and has secured its position as exceptional for its time.¹⁷¹ The intention of this section is thus to show how some of the representational differences in *Mapantsula* helps to point out distinct differences in approach and style of the anti-apartheid films of the first section of the chapter.

Some of the practical difficulties of making a film such as *Mapantsula* in the 1980s are explained by Maingard in her discussion of how, in order for the film to be shot in South Africa, the script had to be passed by the Publications Control Board. Against such a background, the making of *Mapantsula* was important and "...its ability to juxtapose black and white experience from a black perspective, as well as its focus on black opposition to the state, has earned it a special place in the history of oppositional cultural work".¹⁷² It is also for these reasons that *Mapantsula* continues to have cultural resonance in South Africa. Litheko Modisane writes that with regard to financing, *Mapantsula* was overshadowed by other South African movies like *Cry Freedom* (1987) and *A World Apart* (1988).¹⁷³ The film was thus only able to secure development funds from England and the film was eventually coproduced by One Look Productions (South Africa), David Hannay Productions (Australia) and Haverbeam (UK)...¹⁷⁴ However, Schmitz and writer Mogotlane also benefited financially from the apartheid film subsidy scheme, as they presented a false gangster genre film to the Publications Control Board.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Keyan Tomaselli, "Popular Communication in South Africa: 'Mapantsula' and its Context of Struggle" *South African Theatre Journal* 5:1 (1991), pp. 46 – 60., Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood.*, Maingard, "New South African Cinema", pp. 235 – 243., Magogodi, "Sexuality, Power and the Black Body" in Balseiro and Masilela (eds.), *To Change Reels*.

¹⁷² Maingard, "New South African Cinema", p. 236.

¹⁷³ Modisane, *Renegade Reels*, p. 101.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

With the film set against the contextual backdrop of the (1986) Soweto rent strikes, one is aware of viewing something that may be a true reflection of life in apartheid South Africa rather than a mystified narrative of individual braveness. This is particularly conveyed through Panic and Pat, two of the protagonists who continue with their regular lives. The film's emphases take place within everyday activities, such as Pat's experiences of working as a domestic worker for a white woman, and Panic's pick-pocketing in the centre of town. Panic's usual *modus operandi* is to stand on street corners and watch white women enter and exit shops and grab their handbags when they are not looking. Panic differs from Black protagonists in *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom*; he is not exceptional like Biko, nor is he ordinary but a good person like Gordon. There is no distinct mention of apartheid life in *Mapantsula* except for its overt presence in the milieu of racial separation and elements of apartheid expressed in the parallel narrative of Panic in jail.

Panic's anti-hero status and the small changes experienced in him by the end of the film emphasises aspects of apartheid that neither *Dry White* nor *Cry Freedom* achieve: firstly, that Black people continued to live their lives during apartheid. This is seen in how Pat continues to go to work, pay the rent and have domestic squabbles with the lazy Panic. It is also shown consistently in the images of the township, in which people actually express themselves, which is different to representations of the township in *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom*. Secondly, *Mapantsula* does not rely on a white hero and shows how Black Consciousness developments, however small, were often instrumentalised through Black people learning from each other. This is expressed in Panic's time in prison, in which he experiences those who were jailed for political reasons rather than petty crimes. Finally, *Mapantsula* expresses distinct, individual anger in Panic when he throws the brick through the window of Pat's

'madam's' house. The reoccurrence of this seemingly minor event through a flashback later in the film, shows the consistent presence of his anger, his development and the extent of psychological eruption which takes place in this film.

This is also the incident which I discuss briefly in this section to point out how Panic is not an exceptional Black hero, nor is he really an 'out of place' character in apartheid. The scene is interesting because it is both an expression of Panic's anger and an expression of the hyper-masculinity he displays towards Pat. The scene begins to drive home the idea of an extraordinary context in which Panic (and other Black people) continue with relatively ordinary things. When we experience the flashback of the shattering glass later in the film, it is a reminder of Panic's development and his now more articulate anger: with the system, not just with the unfairness of life. It is particularly vital that we are able to remember the context of the first incident and then, knowing Panic's growth, experience the shattering again from Panic's new vantage point. With the lack of emphasis on celebration for Panic's political enlightenment, and with no white protagonist to validate it, the film is still "the most significant anti-apartheid fiction film to emerge prior to the first democratic elections in 1994..."¹⁷⁶

When Panic visits Pat at work, we are aware of the fact that it is not the first time he does this. On the first occasion he unexpectedly visits Pat, neither she nor her white 'madam' are comfortable with Panic's presence at the house. Pat is a domestic worker for a white family in the suburbs and through Panic's bus journey to the house, we begin to see the changes in the surroundings of the city. The setting shifts from the

¹⁷⁶ Maingard, *SA National Cinema*, p. 149.

grungy dirty streets filled with shops and noise and now reflects the quiet tree lined streets of a white suburb. Panic is framed in a long shot as he approaches the house.



[Figure 2.1] Panic on route to Pat's workplace in white suburb

A continuity shot opens the scene to show Pat ironing as Panic watches her through the back door. On seeing her boss arrive she begs him to leave. When the 'Missus' (Mrs Bentley) enters, she launches into isiZulu, reprimanding him for being there and again begging him to go. He takes to berating her job as a domestic worker. Through the use of a shot-reverse-shot sequence, Pat and Panic have been arguing about what the job provides *him* with: food and shelter. Mrs Bentley enters from the left of screen, breaking the shot-reverse-shot sequence taking place between Pat and Panic. When Pat refuses to leave she fetches a large Alsatian from the back seat to threaten Panic with. On seeing the dog and hearing it bark, Panic quickly backs away from the door and picks up a half brick alongside the white wall of the property. He runs away but before he exits the front garden, he throws the brick at a large window. The camera briefly focuses on Panic as he throws the brick and then focuses solely on the window as it shatters. The sound of the glass shattering, accompanied by the frenzy of the dog's barking, contributes to a feeling that something beyond the

physical window has been broken. The camera's focus on the hole in the window serves to further enhance this heightened feeling of unease and in a way, relief. Panic was finally able to do something to express himself beyond being a petty thief. In the moment before the window breaks, the camera focuses on showing Panic's expression and the swift pause in his running motion as he turns to take in what he has just done.



[Figure 2.2] Shattered window at Mrs Bentley's house



[Figure 2.3] Shattered window in flash back

The film revisits this same moment later in the film when half of Panic's body is held out of a window at John Vorster Square police headquarters. The image of Panic in this position references a history of Black detainees who were murdered this way during apartheid. In the flashback of the earlier scene we see the glass shatter from the inside of the house, in other words, not from Panic's point of view on the outside of the house. Writing about this moment, Maingard argues that, from this point of view, it is as though the window "shatters around us, positioned as we are on its plane, and thus binding us into complicity with this most central of the film's moments, and of Panic's shifting internal dynamics, within his prison narrative".¹⁷⁷ The shift of the position of the camera in the flashback not only binds us into complicity, as Maingard points out, but also invites us to experience Panic's psychological shattering in a more critical fashion.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 154.

The shattering glass represents a shift in Panic so that he (and we) no longer views himself as a victim of apartheid but as someone with agency. He realises that he does not have to help the security police by giving them information about his unionist cellmates or any other liberation movement information that they want from him. He chooses not to help himself in order to get out of jail, and instead chooses to stand with his fellow Black struggle comrades, in this way defying his past life's lacklustre attitude towards the harshness of apartheid. His defiance is emphasised quietly and with little dramatic flair when, at the end of the film he refuses to sign an untrue statement presented to him by the security policeman. Panic's defiant expression and his right hand in a fist as the security policeman leans over him express his new stance through the embodiment of anti-apartheid actions: a raised fist which indicated power to the people. The camera lingers on this close-up of Panic, which emphasises the power of individual change through Black Consciousness and significantly, not navigated through whiteness. In this way, *Mapantsula* does not only succeed in being an anti-apartheid film from a Black point of view but also as a politically astute representation of Black consciousness. Its emphasis is on Black people learning from other Black people to express themselves against white domination. This is different from the 'out of place' characters of Section One of this chapter.

Beyond the Black perspective approach of *Mapantsula*, another noteworthy element is its gender dynamic. The final section of this chapter considers the women characters across the films *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom*; however it is worth noting here that Pat, Panic's girlfriend, is not only defiant but she, like Ramphela in *Cry Freedom* for example, is an active mobiliser of anti-apartheid work. As a Black woman, her significance, read against Panic's disinterested in politics 'tsotsi' approach is even more noticeable. According to Maingard, it is because of Pat's employment as a

domestic worker that the film is able to move between the geographical and racial mise-en-scènes of the township where they live together to the gritty city where Panic robs people and the white suburb, where Pat works.¹⁷⁸ Maingard continues that it is Pat's position that makes it possible for the film to really explore the relationship between black and white life.¹⁷⁹

Later in the film Pat begins to participate in some of the community rent riots of the 1980s in Soweto. However, Maingard argues that this too is invited through the gaze and set up from a black man, Duma, who is the antithesis of Panic. Duma is respectful and treats Pat differently to Panic, who expects her to just get on with things and pay for the rent and food even though he also criticises her for the kind of job she has, a domestic helper. With Duma, we are also able to view Pat beyond her worker position. Nevertheless, Maingard argues that, "...while the film's strength lies in its representation of the socio-political context of the period, it is a black male perspective that dominates".¹⁸⁰ Kgafela oa Magogodi also employs a similar critique to Maingard when he points out that Pat's consciousness is negotiated via her relationships to the Black men Panic and Duma. Magogodi writes that, "...she seems to jump out of Panic's bed only to land in Duma's. Could Pat not have joined the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) without being romantically involved with Duma?"¹⁸¹

What Maingard and Magogodi point to is that even though Pat is intrinsic to the actual socio-political content of *Mapantsula*, her own defiance is somewhat watered down in a new romantic encounter with a politically driven man named

¹⁷⁸ Maingard, "New South African Cinema", pp. 238.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 239.

¹⁸¹ Magogodi, "Sexuality, Power, and the Black Body" in Balseiro and Masilela (eds.), *To Change Reels*, p. 197.

Duma. However, having watched Pat at the hands of Panic's lazy patriarchy, where he simply expected her to keep things going, Pat's new love interest is not entirely unwelcome either. Pat does not only attend the meetings for Duma but for herself and her own defiance, particularly in relation to representations of other Black women in anti-apartheid films, should not be too quickly dismissed.

Part Three

The Women of *Cry Freedom* and *A Dry White Season*

The analyses of the first two sections of this chapter have focused almost exclusively on the obvious and primary Black/ white pairings of the male characters. In having set up the discussion in such a way it appears that the women have been left out, however, if the focused is slightly shifted, it becomes apparent that the women play as crucial a role as the men. In Anne McClintock writings about gender and nationalism, she highlights the following:

Excluded from direct action as national citizens, women are subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit... Women are typically construed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, but are denied any direct relation to national agency.¹⁸²

In her discussion of post-war Germany and the reconstitution of nation, Erica Carter asserts that, "Both in their position as icons of nationhood (Britannia, Marianne, Germania), and as symbolic and actual mothers to the family-as-nation, women, it is said, become the touchstone and guardian of traditional national identities".¹⁸³ Although this thesis is not about a new nation in the context of a post-war nation, South Africa as a former colony and then an apartheid state, required that the population (particularly whites) agreed to certain codes of protecting a white nation. In this nation, it was of utmost importance that the 'volk' (the masses, also Biblical, the followers) be protected and that those who were part of it kept the beliefs alive. This work fell to the women and thus points to a kind of reconstruction of white Empire

¹⁸² Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family", *Feminist Review: Nationalisms and National Identities* 44 (Summer, 1993), p. 62.

¹⁸³ Erica Carter, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor: The University Of Michigan Press, 1997), p. 31.

that finds resonance in some of Carter's thesis. This section of the chapter explores how the women in the films are represented as the guardians and safe keepers of apartheid (in the cases of Suzette, Susan and Wendy) and as Black women, protectors also of the anti-apartheid movement.

Melissa Steyn's work illustrates that even though apartheid is over, white South African identities are still in a state of confusion and turmoil that often reverts to old South African dialogues and beliefs. One of the respondents in Steyn's study of post-apartheid white identity said, "You are born and your parents bring you up in the way of the old South Africa. The past is being held against you"¹⁸⁴. What is evidenced in this respondent's answer to how he views himself as a white South African is an inability to move beyond the family structure. As Steyn puts it, "Growing up in an authoritarian society, where accepting and obeying your parents is an absolute norm, he would be a traitor to them if he did not uphold their teaching."¹⁸⁵

3.1 The Afrikaner Women of *A Dry White Season* and *Melanie, the Outsider*

The Du Toit women in *Dry White* are staunch Afrikaner women. Susan, Ben's wife makes it clear after the inquest into Gordon's death that she unequivocally supports apartheid. Suzette, Ben's daughter, does the same. This section shows how Susan and Suzette do not see Ben's development in a positive light but are instead profoundly embarrassed by what they consider to be him letting down the family *and* the Afrikaner people. Both Susan and Suzette become more enraged as the film progresses, with Ben's daughter, Suzette, demanding, in her confused state, that life should just return to "the way it used to be".

¹⁸⁴ Melissa Steyn, *Whiteness just isn't what it used to be*, p. 64.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

In the scene at Melanie's house that was analysed in the previous section I concentrated on Ben's awareness and moment of enlightenment. However, Melanie is also interesting as a character in relation to the conservative Susan and Suzette. In that scene, Melanie is shown to be the one to articulate to Ben that what he witnessed in the courtroom is the real South Africa; then she welcomes him to that South Africa. While Ben is no longer in favour with his own people, he finds respite in Melanie, a foreigner because she is from another place but also a foreigner in her perspective and position towards him and apartheid South Africa. He is welcomed to the other side by a woman whose presence there is validated by her own otherness in that place.

Both Melanie and Ben are granted equal amounts of screen space in the scene at Melanie's house. When Ben sits down in a resigned fashion, with his head in his hands, and laments his naiveté about apartheid, it is Melanie who, with her own glass of whisky in hand, affirms that fact and his new status in South Africa. She is confident and bold and because she is often in the same frame as other men, it is sometimes implied that she too is masculine. However, on another occasion later in the film, she is beautifully dressed and sexily portrayed with bright red lips, as she shares secret information with Ben in a park. Although Melanie is a supporting character, the different ways in which she is represented – firm, serious, political and sexy – present a woman character, who is liberal and open minded and different from what the film presents as a South African white woman. In Melanie's 'out of place' physical and psychological presence, and her support of the anti-apartheid struggle, Ben becomes aligned with her, and is thus also part of an 'out of place' set of people who do not quite belong in the defined space of apartheid.

Susan and Suzette are different to Melanie. At the height of Ben's enlightenment and after Stanley has visited the Du Toit household on more than one occasion, Susan begins to push back against Ben. Two scenes stand out in which Susan is presented as a racist apartheid devotee and a protector of her family. The first of these scenes opens with Susan helping Jonathan with his homework. Seated on a couch and clearly very relaxed, they look up when Ben arrives. Susan's foot begins to shake when she sees Ben, an indication of her discomfort. This same feeling follows Ben and Susan into the kitchen, where the second scene unfolds. Surrounded by food things and the hearth of the home, Susan is located in the actual kitchen whereas Ben looks in, shielded by the doorframe that acts formally as a kind of barrier to entry. This is similar to the previous scene where we see Susan and Johan from Ben's point of view. He looks in on them in a similar fashion to that in this scene.

The separation of space is stark because she is in one room and he is actually just outside, but the separation is also not overt because Ben can enter if he so wishes. This is part of the labour of the film to make Ben's activist role more explicit. Ben continues to choose to fight the system whereas Susan remains in it. Now that he is aware of his own position, he is the one looking in. In addition to Susan's positioning within the kitchen, itself traditionally gendered as the women's space, the dialogue also contributes to the binary of who is inside and who is outside of the confines of apartheid. Their inside/ outside locations also emphasise the 'out of place-ness' of Ben, Stanley and Melanie and the protected insider space of Susan and Suzette and their family.

Susan uses distinctions like 'us' and 'them', meaning whites and Blacks; Susan also uses the derogatory apartheid term 'kaffirs' to refer to Black people in the most

demeaning way. However Susan's critiques extend beyond ridicule. They begin to demonstrate the fear around what it might mean to her, her family and community should Blacks take over the country. In her ability to make the 'us' and 'them' distinction, Susan exhibits a white apartheid mindset which is premised on a fear of Black people, who are seen as savages, dangerous and almost not human. Such a world, in which Blacks are permitted humane treatment, is, according to Susan, the dismantlement of everything she knows and holds dear. For Susan the sides are clear and Ben no longer knows which side he is on. What is most evident in this scene is not Susan's anger towards Ben. Although Susan's embarrassment and upset is palpable, it is her desire to protect her family that is emphasised in her character.

While the camera follows Susan as she paces up and down in her kitchen and as Ben watches her, we are also invited to observe the fully stocked grocery cupboards. A peanut butter jar, labeled 'Black Cat', a familiar South African brand, is momentarily in focus as Susan passes by an open cupboard door. Having described himself as "mean black cat in the night", the image of the jar and the reference to 'black' reminds us of Stanley in this shot. While a close-up of Susan conveys her deep upset and distress at the situation, one cannot help but observe the irony in the welcome presence for the 'Black Cat' in the jar versus the human 'black cat' Stanley. There is also a subtle reference to the absurdity of Susan's musings about apartheid as a system that protects them as whites, when she rhetorically asks whether Ben thinks the Blacks would not do the same given the chance to be in power. Susan and Ben do not look at each other in this scene. Once she has paced up and down the kitchen a few times, she leans against the refrigerator, looking vacantly in the same direction as Ben. When the camera focuses on Susan again it either follows her as a tracking shot or in a medium close-up, contributing to the flow of her thoughts and musings. Ben is

often framed in medium close-ups in the scene, and his stationary position indicates that like his changed ideas and beliefs, he is firmly rooted in what he now knows to be right.

The final straw however comes later in the film as the family enjoys a Christmas meal. A character that appears to be Susan's father asks Ben about where he will find a job now, as he was recently made redundant. Although the atmosphere is cheerful there is a distinct undertone of discomfort that comes through in comments such as the one Susan's father makes about Ben's work situation and the insinuation that he may not be able to get another job, as an anti-apartheid sympathiser. Stanley appears under the archway drunkenly swaying and commenting on how happy they all look huddling around the tree. His unruly appearance leads to a very quick end to the Christmas festivities and another comment from Susan's father to Ben which reinforces what they think of him, that he is no longer a true Afrikaner but a traitor.

Susan disappears from the scene in which Stanley and Ben physically fight each other only to be broken up by Johan. When she appears again we see her from Ben and Stanley's point of view. They are both on the floor and look up at her. Susan is clearly the superior one here as she approaches them with two suitcases on either side of her to show that she has reached the end of her tether. Suzette is presented as a proud Afrikaner daughter and very similar to her mother. They are often dressed similarly, in pastel colours cardigans and Suzette's long blonde hair is neatly and modestly styled to accompany her demure look. Suzette and Susan have made similar comments about the 'kaffirs' throughout the film, indicating a less nuanced understanding of the situation of apartheid, but one that is clearly reflective of traditional Afrikaner values at the time.

The values espoused by Susan and Suzette do not show a particularly rich understanding of the situation, in fact, if anything, the film persists in showing how these women characters continue to preach the apartheid mottos as virtuous. Suzette's anger at her father comes from a place of embarrassment. She interprets what Ben does for Emily Ngubene as selfish because he does not think of his own family. The point that Susan and Suzette perpetually return to is family. While Susan walks away from Ben, Suzette takes it upon herself to work with the security police to stop Ben's anti-apartheid plans to avenge Gordon's murder. As the film progresses to the climax of Ben's death, Suzette is not shown as the innocent demure woman she has been up until this point. She is thus not characteristically portrayed as a woman who is upset and does not know what to do but rather as quite a shrewd enactor of what she feels needs to be protected.

In the scene leading up to Ben's death he and Suzette meet at what appears to be a local pizzeria. Ben has already learned of his daughter's acts of vengeance (she knew for example of an explosive that had been planted in Ben's shed) and in this scene intends to manipulate her by giving her fake documents which Ben knows Suzette will give to security police man Stoltz. Although this scene is complex for a number of reasons, such as the fact that they are both manipulating the other, it is Suzette's treachery that is most disturbing. The earlier reference to McClintock at the beginning of Part Three highlights the complicated relation of women to national identity in a way which is useful in deconstructing the characters of Susan and Suzette.

Considered in relation to McClintock's point, although Suzette and Susan are characterised similarly, Suzette is employed in active service for the protection of the nation and is wielded into a role that is outside of the symbolic remit. Her mother

however remains the symbolic bearer of nation and is never seen beyond this construction. Hence, although Suzette is a model of her mother, she is also represented as part of a generation that is aware of agency in the service of patriarchy. To employ McClintock again, she points out that, "Women are represented as the atavistic and authentic 'body' of national tradition (inert, backward-looking, and natural) embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity".¹⁸⁶ Both Susan and Suzette are representative of such women. Particularly in Suzette's case, it is her backward looking and forward thinking (in relation to her own toddler) that spurs on her need to betray her father in the way that she does, which ultimately leads to his death. The film thus suggests that while the Afrikaner family embodies the values of apartheid and the traditions of the community (volk), the paternalistic nation is affirmed by Protestant veracity. With this in mind, Susan and Suzette do not only protect their own families but also the essentialised traits of Afrikanerdom.

While Susan and Suzette are problematic, they are also exhibited as characters that deserve pity precisely because of their domestic mothering when, for example, we see these characters at church or in the home space. Constituted of these different traits as mothers as protectors, the film does not require that these women be vilified without this being a complex awareness of the place that they occupy within the family and the nation. We are therefore also compelled to see their fears, comments and choices as understandable and even permissible.

Although *Dry White's* emphasis is elsewhere, the analysis of this section has shown that the models of white femininity are complex and part of apartheid and anti-apartheid positionalities. With Susan and Suzette as bearers of Afrikaner domestic

¹⁸⁶ McClintock, "Family Feuds", p. 66.

femininity, and Melanie as the bearer of English (foreign) assertive femininity, the film does not quite relegate these characters to spaces of insignificance but points to the extent of their symbolic and active power. Although the film indicates that Melanie's anti-apartheid place is partly permissible because she is foreign, the film also, expresses, to draw on Carter's formulation, some of the complexities of the guardians of national and domestic spaces.¹⁸⁷ These complexities appear even more in need of protection in the intricacies of anti-apartheid beliefs in a place where, like the Du Toit household, no such articulation was truly needed before because everyone simply understood their fixed identities.

However, the racial binary of *Dry White* also points to another woman, Gordon's wife, Emily Ngubene. Emily is the single consistent Black woman in the film; however by the time she dies we actually know little about her. Whereas the white women are developed throughout the film as varied and their choices are shown from different angles, Emily's lack of agency is only marginally pointed at when the character is on screen. Emily's role is primarily in service of Ben's project. For example, she is the one who tells Ben about Gordon in detention and she is the one who wishes to probe further into the reasons for Gordon's death in detention. However, it is Ben's actions that follow up on these matters and it is Ben and Stanley's conversations around the outcomes that yield further choices and decisions around trying to expose the security police. Ben, Stanley and Melanie become the team who propel the actual project of vindicating Gordon's death. As the only Black woman character in a film in which women are of great interest in the plot, it is curious that Emily remains reserved throughout even in her death. An aspect of Emily's death is shown in a brief flashback which shows her and Gordon's children taken to the homeland on the back of a police

¹⁸⁷ Carter, *How German is She?*, p. 31.

track. Stanley relays that Emily died in that encounter with the police but she is not shown and neither is her death.

Contributing to the larger film then, these characters convey a message that is not very different from apartheid propaganda after all. As Carchidi writes, “The movie compels us to want a resolution that plays right into the propaganda of apartheid: free the blacks, and they will slaughter all the whites on suspicion of abuse or complicity”.¹⁸⁸

3.2 Defiance and the Joint Struggle of Women in *Cry Freedom*

The women characters of *Cry Freedom* are different to those in *Dry White*. In the first instance, Donald Woods’ wife, Wendy, is also a liberal. Although shown to be protective of family and nation, Wendy is significantly not shown to be a racist. In a number of scenes Wendy and the children are contextualised in the same domestic space as Evalina, their domestic helper. Although Evalina works for the Woods family, the children treat her with respect, a telling aspect of the liberal values of the family. In the context of *Cry Freedom*, the liberals treat the Blacks well relative to Afrikaners but, as Steve Biko points out in the film (and in his own scholarship), they remain white and can do very little to shift their own white comforts.

In a scene in which Wendy and Donald debate the family’s escape from South Africa we see Wendy in a similar role to Susan Du Toit. This is a context in which she is primarily presented as the protector of her family. There are a number of other differences between Wendy and the white women of *Dry White*: Wendy supports Donald’s anti-apartheid work with Steve and Wendy herself is shown to be present at a rally; she and their eldest daughter and Donald attend Steve’s funeral and she

¹⁸⁸ Carchidi, “South Africa from Text to Film”, pp. 54 – 55.

extends their friendship, calling Ntsiki and Steve her and Donald's brother and sister. She extends the support of the family and there is clear camaraderie between the two families and something that extends beyond an awareness of the plight of blackness. Attenborough also successfully sets up a more fluid gender interaction between the two couples, which is also significantly different to *Dry White*, in which the gender divide is reinforced alongside the racial divide. In these ways, Attenborough seems able to diversify Wendy, Donald and their family, showing them to be true liberals but also to be active participants in the fight against apartheid.

The Woods family speaks English, an indication of their white liberal values and tradition. Their 'Englishness' also points to how both films draw on the distinctions between Afrikaners and English (British or South African) to subtly reference a colonial tug of war between the Dutch and the British. Apartheid is in a way also vilified as something created by Afrikaners, and which the English are always somehow slightly removed from. Although the Du Toits speak English in *Dry White*, their names and their fierce apartheid beliefs indicate that they represent a family that would have spoken Afrikaans during apartheid. The choices around the use of English language in *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom* are another way in which it is clear that the films are not directed at local audiences.

The argument between the Woods takes place on a cliff that overlooks the beach. The scene starts with a close-up of Wendy Woods and enters into a shot-reverse-shot pattern as the pair discusses Donald's suggestion to escape apartheid South Africa to Britain. His intention is to publish about Steve's teachings. The intensity of the disagreement about whether to stay or go is conveyed through a variety of close-ups and medium close-ups between Donald and Wendy. The

establishing shot in the scene has shown the couple to be seated atop a large rock from where they can see their children play on an isolated beach beneath them.

The scene is able to convey a sense of the geographical isolation of them from other people, as they are the only family on the beach, but the isolation is also extended into who they are as a family. They are different to other white families who do not have Black friends, a father under house arrest and parents discussing an illegal escape from the country. The vast openness shown in the expansive wide-angle shots of the beach and the horizon of the sea also helps to extend the idea of possibility that Wendy and Donald speak about in the scene. Wendy is not immediately supportive of Donald's decision to leave, calling him selfish but at the same time expressing disgust for apartheid. Nevertheless, she laments, the country remains their home. It is in Wendy's robust expression around home and the protection of her family that a connection between Susan and Wendy becomes apparent. Both women point out to their partners that while their (masculine) focus is on liberatory acts, the feminine focus is on protection in the face of a system that could harm the family.

Cry Freedom's construction of cross-racial relations between the women and the men makes for a more nuanced film in general. The Black women in *Cry Freedom*, particularly Dr. Ramphela Mamphela and Steve's wife Ntsiki, are different from each other and quite rich in texture. The first section of this chapter discussed how the film opens with a raid of Crossroads township. Following those contextual scenes we are introduced to a young Black medical doctor, Dr. Mamphela, who is also the person who encourages Donald to go to King Williams Town. Mamphela's presence in the *Daily Mail* newsroom is met with great surprise by Donald's secretary and also by Woods himself. The first person Ramphela encounters in the *Daily Mail* newsroom is

Woods' secretary, a young white woman who, shot from Ramphele's high angle, in an inversion of apartheid power, is forced to look up at the Black woman. Ramphele has just slammed a newspaper onto her desk and the camera zooms in to show the headline: "Bantu Stephen Biko: The ugly menace of black racism". The secretary looks bewildered and with a hint of amusement on her face asks Ramphele who she is. She is not only interested in who she is but also in how a Black woman has come into a white office with that attitude. "Dr. Ramphele" is the answer that the secretary snorts at as though still in a private joke with herself.

The next shot is of Woods in his office, followed by a long shot of the secretary entering with Ramphele. The secretary introduces Ramphele with the same bemused expression she has had throughout. This short interaction between the two women shows that Ramphele is necessarily boisterous in the face of what she knows will be overt racism. In the office with Woods though, she does not lose the expression but does point out that she knows he is not stupid. She realises that she can meet him on an intellectual level but she knows that a discussion with the secretary might not be as fruitful. Framed in close-ups or long shots from Donald's point of view in his large editorial office, we see Mamphela present herself as confident not only because she knows she is different, as one of very few Black medical doctors in apartheid, but because she believes in Black Consciousness and is confident that Woods does not properly understand it. The conversation is in fact vital to Woods and Biko meeting and proves successful when we see Woods in King Williams Town in the next scene.

This is an important choice on Attenborough's part: to have a Black woman barge into a space that a white man controls, and then to instruct him about something as complex as apartheid South Africa. However, Mamphela's character also

shows us that Black women were active in the struggle. It is also noteworthy because although this is not the emphasis of *Cry Freedom*, the scene between Woods and Mamphela compels us to see the diversity of the characters and to see that the anti-apartheid struggle was comprised of layers of insights and actions by different people of different strata of that fixed society. Despite the fact that Steve's wife is not as vociferous as Mamphela, Donald nevertheless has to go through her first to reach Steve in the first encounter. The film seems to consistently comment that Black women are also important pillars of the struggle. In the scene in which Donald comes to the church where Steve is, it is Steve's wife who lets him in to the church building and shows him around the community centre. The Black women in *Cry Freedom* are not shown to be timid, as is the case for example with Emily in *Dry White*. In *Cry Freedom*, Ramphele is the first introduction to Black Consciousness and she is a Black South African woman. From the beginning of this film, a Black woman introduces and demands to be introduced equally to Black and white me

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the representations of race in *A Dry White Season*, *Cry Freedom* and *Mapantsula*. The chapter concludes that not only do the films *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom* rely on the unions of white and Black heroes to portray anti-apartheid activities within the narratives, but that the individual characters are themselves often shown to be 'out of place' in a place in which identities are dogmatic and fixed. The main protagonists are thus contextualised in contrast to a normative way of being in apartheid South Africa, as a way of showing what it was like there and as a way of educating foreign audiences. This chapter has also shown that another binary exists beyond the racial one already manifest in both films, and this is a gendered one. The final section's analysis briefly explored how the representations of the women in *Dry White* and *Cry Freedom* contribute to the protection and endurance of family, anti-apartheid struggle and nation.

Mapantsula was also considered in relation to the above films in order to show the different approach of an anti-apartheid film which advances a Black perspective. This chapter has thus set the foundation for the sections that follow. From this point onwards, the thesis does not return to a consideration of apartheid films again and thus considers this as a point of departure from apartheid into post-apartheid.

SECTION 2

Section One explored three anti-apartheid films of the late 1980s and provided background to the ways that apartheid delineated people according to race. This second section concentrates on films made after 1994 – the official end of apartheid, and the institution of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ – and the vehicle through which the new nation was mobilised, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In the films of Chapter Three, it is possible to identify and explore some of the complexities of the differences between ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ memory in the TRC processes. Against the backdrop of Chapter Two, which emphasises the apartheid racial binary, Chapter Three unpicks that fundamental shift in time, space and discourse from ‘apartheid’ to ‘post-apartheid’. As is explained in the chapter itself, the TRC was a formal process of acknowledging the trauma of apartheid, the pains, and losses. It was also a formalised and official process that could not quite, even in its ‘Rainbow Nation’ aim, expel apartheid racial categories. Chapter Four turns to two characters who would have been the quintessential perpetrators of apartheid. In those characters I explore the presence of an unfashionable and often ignored new South African identity: that of the white, middle-aged man, questioning, as the films do, what the ‘Rainbow’ looks like from the other side.

CHAPTER THREE

MEMORY, 'UBUNTU' AND FORGIVENESS IN FILMS

ABOUT THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION

COMMISSION

Introduction

Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language... We say, 'a person is a person through other people'. It is not, 'I think, therefore I am'. It says rather: I am human because I belong.¹⁸⁹

The past will have been worked through only when the causes of what happened then have been eliminated. Only because the causes continue to exist does the captivating spell of the past remain to this day unbroken.¹⁹⁰

...How far back should memory reach? How deeply into the recesses of the past? The answer that springs spontaneously to mind is that memory is not governed by the statute of limitations, and that collective memory especially is the very warp and weft of the tapestry of history that makes up society. Unravel and jettison a thread from that tapestry and society itself may become undone at the seams. And yet, the opposite is also true.¹⁹¹

The thesis now takes what may appear as an uncharacteristic leap through time from the end of the 1980s (films discussed in chapter two) and the early 2000s (films discussed in the current chapter, chapter three). Although the period of the 1990s has been discussed in other South African film scholarship, the choice to exclude it here is based on two reasons: the first is that film production slowed down significantly in the decade of the 1990s, partly due to political changes and the official reconstruction of the nation; the second reason is that because official changes were happening, there was not a great deal of time for conception and production. Nevertheless, two

¹⁸⁹ Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness* (London and Parktown: Random House, 1999), p. 34.

¹⁹⁰ Theodor Adorno, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 103.

¹⁹¹ Wole Soyinka, "Memory, Truth and Healing" in Ifi Amadiume and Abdullah An-Nam (eds.), *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000), p. 21.

important films of this decade often discussed in film scholarship are *Sarafina* and *Cry, the Beloved Country*, both directed by Darrell Roodt. The primary reason for excluding these films in the thesis is that they deal with the same/similar concerns of the films of chapter two through their emphasis on the end of apartheid. In my research period I found that the films discussed in chapter two were no more or less interesting than for example, the two mentioned above, except that they were more firmly rooted in an apartheid present. It is really then the films of the following decade, which are dealt with in this current chapter, that begin to explore the historical narrative of the 1990s. Because this is the emphasis of the thesis, an exploration of the post-apartheid through representations of the 'Rainbow Nation', it seemed fitting that more of the chapters dealt with post-1994 discourses and films that emphasised the transition and complexities of the 'Rainbow'.

The year 2004 marked a new direction for films that dealt with apartheid. This chapter considers representations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in four films and brings together that referential historical event, the culturally specific concept of 'ubuntu', film language, through analyses of flashbacks in these films and, the different production circumstances of the films. The films discussed in this chapter have received significant attention in scholarship and have come to be known in a category of their own, 'TRC films'.¹⁹² The analysis throughout this chapter extends or shifts that category from its current status to consider these films as contested narrations of the TRC. Fiction and non-fiction TRC films are heavily influenced by the actual events and testimonies of the TRC, a government-mandated institution which existed between 1995 and 2002. Most South African film scholars identify the four

¹⁹² Dovey *African Film and Literature*, pp. 53 – 57., Maingard, *SA National Cinema*, p. 169., Saks, *Cinema in a Democratic SA*, pp. 83 – 132.

feature films dealt with in this chapter among the prominent representations of the TRC. These four films, which were all released in 2004, are the focus of this chapter: *Zulu Love Letter* directed by Ramadan Suleman, John Boorman's *In My Country*, based on Antje Krog's *Country of My Skull*, Ian Gabriel's *Forgiveness* and Tom Hooper's *Red Dust*. Other noteworthy films of the time are documentaries like *Of Joyce and Remembrance* (Mark Kaplan, 2004) and *The Gugulethu Seven* (Lindy Wilson, 2000), Sechaba Morejele's controversial short film about the inadequacies of the TRC, *Ubuntu's Wounds* and Norman Maake's feature-length film about the return of exiles after apartheid in *Homecoming* (2005).

These films are varied and although they provide interesting insights into the ways in which the TRC and the context of the country at that time have been represented, my concern here is with fiction films. With reference to TRC films by Black directors, Cara Moyer-Duncan critiques big budget productions (*Red Dust* and *In My Country*), arguing that other films (like *Ubuntu's Wounds*, *Zulu Love Letter* and *Homecoming*) "...give voice to perspectives historically denied by apartheid and in many ways still stifled by the legacy of inequality, which limits black access to the training and resources needed to produce narrative film".¹⁹³

Although the films discussed in this chapter are all fiction features, they also differ from each other. *In My Country* and *Red Dust* are literary adaptations, while *Forgiveness* is a measured and sombre presentation of a small coastal town family's struggle with coming to terms with their son/ brother's death. *Zulu Love Letter* is a story about two mothers who try to connect with their daughters in spite of the traumatic and challenging histories that shroud their lives. Jacqueline Maingard

¹⁹³ Cara Moyer-Duncan "Truth, Reconciliation and Cinema" in Bisschoff and Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma*, p. 277.

describes *Zulu Love Letter* as comprising a special quality in that its emphasis is not on making a didactic political point.¹⁹⁴ Instead, she writes, "... it draws a picture of the state of the post-apartheid nation from a Black point-of-view, represented by one personal story that stands in for many".¹⁹⁵ This latter point is also relevant to Ian Gabriel's *Forgiveness*, in which the TRC looms but is itself not recreated in the film. In this film, the focus is on a family in mourning in the quiet fishing village of Paternoster. Beyond the Grootboom family, who stand in for others like them around South Africa, *Forgiveness* is about the perplexing and more difficult counterpart of forgiveness: the often unpredictable processes around being able to forgive such as "acting out", "working through" and "coming to terms with" what happened during apartheid.

In My Country and *Red Dust* are arguably not South African films because of their formulaic Hollywood narrative construction and aesthetic composition. Both films received British and South African funding, *In My Country* from the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa (IDC) and the UK Film Council and *Red Dust* from the IDC and BBC films. Despite the fact that both directors, John Boorman and Tom Hooper, are English, the films themselves are South African in narrative and because of their locations around the country. The trial of reconciliation is central to the films, as are various other traits of the new nation, strongly displayed in the 'Rainbow Nation' rhetoric apparent in both. The choice to include these films is because of the thesis's interest in films that grapple with representations of new identities of the new nation. The TRC was the large-scale national platform through which South Africans were ushered into whatever the 'Rainbow Nation' had promised.

¹⁹⁴ Maingard, *SA National Cinema*, p. 169.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

The choice to include these two mainstream films also seemed fitting in relation to arguments I make for the two non-mainstream films.

This chapter also explores the figuring and performance of memory through how some of the films favour the cinematic trope for memory, the flashback. Flashbacks occur in *Red Dust* and *Zulu Love Letter* but they are not employed in *In My Country* and *Forgiveness*. Maureen Turim defines the classic flashback as, "...an image or a filmic segment that is understood as representing temporal occurrences anterior to those in the images that preceded it".¹⁹⁶ In the classic flashback the information about the past that we are provided with contributes to the current narrative and helps to make sense of the present-day narrative. This chapter however argues that in *Zulu Love Letter* we see a different kind of flashback, one defined by Joshua Hirsch (and drawing on Hirsch's work, Maingard) as a post-traumatic flashback. Such a device, Hirsch argues, makes use of temporal and stylistic codes that help the viewer experience the film in a way that is "...analogous to a series of characteristics of psychological trauma".¹⁹⁷ This kind of flashback works not only to show the past or reveal a plot or a character's biography, as in the case of the classical flashback, but creates a disturbance in the temporality of the content and in the form of the film and transmits an experience of trauma for the spectator.¹⁹⁸

Zulu Love Letter is also the only one of the four films that does not rely heavily on racial binaries in TRC narratives. The end of apartheid relied quite significantly on negotiation between the apartheid government and the African National Congress (ANC) and in this chapter I consider negotiation also as a 'rite of passage' through

¹⁹⁶ Maureen Turim, *Flashbacks in Film: Memory and History* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 1.

¹⁹⁷ Hirsch *Afterimage: Film, Trauma and The Holocaust*, p. 98.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

which it is possible to overcome more than apartheid. The 'more than' refers to something that lies beyond forgiveness and it is these considerations I turn to in Section Three of the thesis. Julie Reid offers insight into white identities in South African films, arguing that they are remythologised in films. In this process of remythologisation, white identities are reformulated by perpetuating the binaries of good white versus bad white as seen in Chapter Two.

Keeping in mind the social value of such a reformulation and who this might be for, Reid argues that it should be a matter for concern that some of the TRC films are made by non-South African directors. In relation to foreign directors it is vital to question who these films are actually for, as it appears that an over-reliance on the racial binary shown in TRC films has the accompanying effect of oversimplification of the processes of forgiveness and the complexities of the transition to post-apartheid. Reid offers that seeing such films as developing myths,

empties out the representation of complexities and even history, and offers a type of short-hand which can be easily understood and consumed by the reader. But the counter-mythical representations of whiteness in these films may, under critical scrutiny, amount to the stereotyping of South African whites by and for foreigners.¹⁹⁹

This leads to the persistence of the good and bad whites of anti-apartheid cinema into post-apartheid films.

While the narratives of TRC films are unique to South Africa, the larger concepts that the films deal with, such as memory and trauma, are relevant to other contexts around the world. The films of this section thus also resonate with representations of other narratives of memory. Although the context is different,

¹⁹⁹ Reid, "The Remythologisation of White Collective Identities", p. 50.

films like Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* (2012) and the sequel, *The Look of Silence* (2014), which deal with Indonesian communist history, are further examples of filmic representations of the trauma of a national and individual past.

What is most pertinent about the similarities found in these films which represent different contexts, is that they all exhibit how national perception can be fixed and curated so that the majority of the population are compelled to (almost instructed to) think about and remember a specific version of history. Oppenheimer's films remind us of the far-reaching effects of state power accompanied by ideology which can, in some ways, manipulate history. TRC films are also born out of a state-driven initiative geared towards showing the 'Rainbow Nation' on screen. The National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) was mandated (and this directive remains in place) to prioritise the funding of films that represented the apartheid past and the post-apartheid nation.²⁰⁰ Two points under the objectives of the foundation in the National Film and Video Foundation Act 1997 are pertinent:

3.b) to provide and encourage the provision of opportunities for persons, especially from disadvantaged communities to get involved in the film and video industry;

e) in respect of the film and video industry, to address historical imbalances in the infrastructure and distribution of skills and resources.²⁰¹

Recent interest in South Africa as a highly viable film set location has also seen major growth in the industry. Local directors have generally not benefited as much as foreign production companies, which has caused some tensions. For example, *Ubuntu's Wounds* director Sechaba Morejele wants to know the politics behind the

²⁰⁰ <http://www.nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkContentID=57>. [Accessed 15 August, 2015].

²⁰¹ Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette, National Film and Video Foundation Act 1997, Act. No. 73, 3 December 1997: <http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/a73-97.pdf>.

NFVF choices, specifically why the NFVF promotes the funding of South African literary adaptations but then seems to place white South African literature ahead of stories by Black writers.

In an interview with Lindiwe Dovey, Morejele asks why films such as Gillian Slovo's *Red Dust* (2000) or Antje Krog's *Country of My Skull* (1998), "...are deemed more appropriate for adaptation to film" than for example literature by black writers.²⁰² According to Morejele "...many black testimonies of the TRC have been written, but that film adapters, in order to acquire funding, still appear to require a white intermediary...".²⁰³ Dovey links this comment back to the need for a white intermediary as seen in anti-apartheid films of the late 1980s. What is evidenced in such representations is that the emphasis on unity and the positive outcomes of post-apartheid suggests both a white and Black triumph over apartheid. Such dominant mainstream representations serve the state-driven ideology of post-apartheid and are also suggestive of the fact that TRC narratives, like anti-apartheid films, are marketable to foreign audiences as stories of hope and the triumph of good. Additionally, funding may not be willingly shared with those who might be more critical of the new nation and so mainstream TC films also function to serve the dominant 'Rainbow Nation' rhetoric. The insinuation is that the whole project of the TRC and the new nation will fail miserably under the too bright glare of criticality and nuance. This is part of why *Zulu Love Letter* and *Forgiveness* are such compelling examples to consider.

This chapter is comprised of two parts: the first considers films which rely on the Hollywood aesthetic and composition, *In My Country* and *Red Dust*. This section focuses on representations of the 'official' TRC represented in those films. The second

²⁰² Dovey *African Film and Literature*, p. 55.

²⁰³ Ibid.

section deals with films in which the TRC is present in the narrative of the film but is not necessarily officially represented. This section shows how *Forgiveness* and *Zulu Love Letter* are defined as ‘unofficial’ in their representations of the TRC. Maingard points out that *Zulu Love Letter* is exceptional because of how it centralises women in this film and also how it sets a different aesthetic standard that is not Hollywood-like but closer to an African aesthetic.²⁰⁴ I also analyse elements of the process of ‘working through’ or what can be described as attempts at forgiveness beyond the TRC in *Forgiveness*. Director Ian Gabriel represents how it might be possible to grapple with and potentially (but not definitely) reach a state of forgiveness after traumatic death. I am interested in what this looks like in the context of the Grootboom family, which is traumatised and debilitated by the death of their twenty-year-old son ten years previously. I am also interested in how the film represents and grapples with the unfashionable aspects and places of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ after 1994.

In the second section, the analysis focuses on seeing how trauma is manifested in selected characters in *Zulu Love Letter* and *Forgiveness*. This trauma is not fully translatable or articulate but remains intricately enmeshed with the nation. In the case of *Forgiveness*, I show how the characters experience the after-effects of trauma. In the case of *Zulu Love Letter*, I focus specifically on the use of the flashback as a modality through which “acting out” and “working through” are represented and mediated.

Both sections are guided by questions such as: What do the films emphasise in how they represent the TRC and the period around it? In asking this I attempt to uncover what each film deems important to represent. What do the films achieve in

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 169.

setting up an understanding of the TRC as a watershed event in South African history? Can an argument be made that these films are representative of individual and/or collective traumatic consciousness? How do these films contribute to a further construction of the new nation?

South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SA TRC) sought to bring the atrocities of apartheid to light through two primary modes of inquiry: firstly to provide a forum for perpetrators to confess to politically motivated crimes, and secondly, for families to ask for the details of what happened to family members who had gone missing or been killed by such acts during apartheid. The commission listened to testimonies of victims and perpetrators relating to events that occurred between 1960 and 1994. The SA TRC followed a reparative justice model and not a retributive justice model as was the case of the Nuremberg trials. A major condition of this model was that the past be excavated with the end goal of the Rainbow Nation already in mind.

The Commission was comprised of three committees, namely the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRV), the Restoration and Rehabilitation Committee (R+R) and the Amnesty Committee. There was great national and international interest in the processes of the HRV and the Amnesty Committees as these pertained specifically to the hearings. However the after effects of the TRC, related to reparations, have still not been completely dealt with. Hearings were broadcast on the public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and South Africans could thus follow the proceedings around the country. The HRV Committee heard testimonies from victims of apartheid and the Amnesty Committee heard testimonies from

apartheid perpetrators, who were often members of the security police and 'askaris'. Colloquially called 'impimpis', such characters are either present or alluded to in each of the films discussed in this chapter. The same committee also heard the testimonies of anti-apartheid struggle veterans who resorted to violence. In other words, the Amnesty Committee made no distinctions between white and Black perpetrators. Along with the national rhetoric around the terms of the new nation, the commission did not identify the complexity of 'wrong doers' in this situation. In other words, the price of amnesty and forgiveness was the same for the white apartheid security force officers and the freedom fighters that were part of the anti-apartheid arms struggle. The R+R Committee was mandated with the task of formulating proposals for the rehabilitation of victims of apartheid and aimed to restore their dignity. This committee was not public and thus received considerably less attention than the other hearings.²⁰⁵

There is a great deal of existing scholarship about the TRC because it is considered an exemplary international model in truth, forgiveness and reconciliation.²⁰⁶ A brief consideration of truth commissions outside of South Africa

²⁰⁵ Government Gazette no. 22833 of 16 November 2001, Volume 6, section 6 is a detailed report of the processes and logistics of the TRC between 1998 and 2001 pp. 733 – 787: http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/vol6_s6.pdf.

Final report of the TRC: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/>

²⁰⁶ Aletta J. Norval, "Memory, Identity and the (Im)possibility of Reconciliation: The Work of the TRC in South Africa", *Constellations* 5:2 (1998), pp. 250-265., Michael Cunningham, "Saying Sorry: the Politics of Apology", *The Political Quarterly Publishing Co.* (1999), pp. 285- 293., Rosemary Nagy, "The Ambiguities of Reconciliation and Responsibility in South Africa", *Political Studies* 52 (2004), pp. 709-727., Rosemary Jolly, "Rehearsals of Liberation: Contemporary Postcolonial Discourse and the New South Africa", *PMLA* 110:1 (1995), pp. 17 – 29., Tristan Anne Borer, "Reconciling South Africa/ South Africans? Cautionary Notes from the TRC", *African Studies Quarterly* 8:1 (2004), pp. 19 – 38., Catherine M. Cole, "Performance, Transitional Justice, and the Law: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Theatre Journal* 59:2 (2007), pp. 167-187., Annelies Verdoolaege, "Media Representations of the South African Truth And Reconciliation Commission and their Commitment to Reconciliation", *Journal Of African Cultural Studies* 17:2 (2005), pp. 181 – 199., Susan Vanzanten Gallagher, " 'I Want To Say/ Forgive Me': South African Discourse and Forgiveness", *PMLA* 117:2 (2002), pp. 303 – 306., Martha Minow, "In Practice between Vengeance and Forgiveness: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Negotiation Journal* (1998), pp. 319 – 355.

also shows a range of practices in different searches for truth.²⁰⁷ Ridwan Nyftagodien and Arthur Neal describe the international context of the truth commissions as the “collective conscience of many nations of the world... disturbed by the modern imperative to confront an ugly past”.²⁰⁸

Despite some of the overlapping similarities in different nations’ attempts at unpacking traumatic pasts for the outcome of truth and reconciliation, the South African situation is also unique. Mamood Mamdani critiques prominent scholars and politicians who constructed and endorsed the TRC as guilty of a too easy assumption associated with the TRC that “all justice is victor’s justice”.²⁰⁹ Mamdani calls South Africa’s negotiation for freedom and equality as politically justifiable but morally and intellectually unjustifiable. His caution, more than ten years ago, is being evidenced now in some of the contemporary debates in South Africa. He points to the fact that problems will arise from over-simplification of “several versions of truth” to only one monolithic and ill-fitting version.²¹⁰ The one version is the ‘Rainbow Nation’ version of truth.

Aware of the different versions of truth, this chapter identifies official and unofficial elements of the TRC present in the films. The official TRC suggests the distinct presence in narrative and mise-en-scène of the roving community-style courtrooms of the TRC. The unofficial TRC is more complex and is comprised of

²⁰⁷ Juan E. Mendez, “Latin American Experiences of Accountability” in Amadiume and An-Na’Im (eds.), *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 127 – 141., David Mellor, Di Bretherton and Lucy Firth, “Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Australia”, *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 13:1 (2007), pp. 11-36., Lyn S. Graybill, “Pardon, Punishment, and Amnesia: Three African Post-Conflict Methods”, *Third World Quarterly* 25:6 (2004), pp. 1117-1130., Roger Bromley, “After Such Knowledge, What Forgiveness?: Cultural Representations of Reconciliation in Rwanda” in *French Cultural Studies* 20:20 (2009), pp. 181-197.

²⁰⁸ Ridwan Laher Nyftagodien and Arthur G. Neal, “Collective Trauma, Apologies, and the Politics of Memory”, *Journal of Human Rights* 3:4 (2004), p. 465.

²⁰⁹ Mamood Mamdani, “The Truth According to the TRC” in Amadiume and An-Nam (eds.), *The Politics of Memory*, p. 178.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

elements of the TRC that were present alongside or surfaced as much later re-interpretations of the official events. Such films may reference the period and milieu of the TRC without actually showing the TRC hearings. The unofficial TRC is inscribed through a number of devices, some of which are evidenced in the films. One of these processes is interpretation through the media. According to Charmaine McEachern, the “media TRC” provide(d) the “public sphere in which nation building is debated and affirmed”.²¹¹ More than a media platform for broadcasting of actual hearings, the media also interpreted, reported and documented the process of nation building. Documenting, notes Stella Bruzzi, is “...a perpetual negotiation between the real event and its representation (that is, to propose that the two remain distinct but interactive)...”.²¹²

The media performed two functions in their capacities as performers at the TRC and performers for the nation: witnesses *and* interpreters. The “media TRC” was *the* vehicle of truth for the majority of South Africans. Even though their primary role is to factually convey information, the media TRC were illustrative of what Bruzzi describes as, the “underpinning rationale” that performance is important in relation to documentary.²¹³ *In My Country* is an example of a TRC film that shows this layer in great detail because the main protagonists are journalists.

The second way of considering the unofficial TRC is through representations of the event and manifestations of it in cultural re-enactments that not only reconstruct but also fictionalise the TRC. There is no shortage of such examples, one being Jane Taylor’s *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, first performed in 1997 by the Handspring

²¹¹ Charmaine McEachern, *Narratives of Nation Media, Memory and Representation in the Making of the New South Africa: A Volume in Horizons in Post-Colonial Studies* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2002), p. xv.

²¹² Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary 2nd edition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 13.

²¹³ *Ibid.* p. 2

Puppetry Company, accompanied by filmic projections designed by William Kentridge.²¹⁴ Another poignant example of the far-reaching effects of the TRC is in national monuments.²¹⁵ Freedom Park is a product of the outcome of the TRC, as it celebrates the 'Rainbow Nation', described as, "a centre of knowledge aimed at deepening the understanding of the nation. It strives to accommodate all of the country's experiences and symbols to tell a coherent story".²¹⁶

This chapter explores the different layers present in TRC films. By way of an example of the layeredness of the hearings themselves, this section draws to a close with an excerpt from a 1996 hearing transcript. Archbishop Tutu, Chairman of the TRC says the following to an emotional Black audience in the rural Eastern Cape:

I hope that those who read the bible know that there must be the truth before the award... We have been given a very important task, this is not a show what we are doing. We are trying to get medicines to heal up our wounds...The Truth Commission is seen to be even handed, but even more than that, do not make us a laughing stock, because people will say because these things are under now blacks, now everything is turned into a bioscope, please I do not want to do anything painful to you now, because I know that stories that you are listening to now, these things remind you of what you also went through and it takes some of the burden.²¹⁷

Here Tutu references the absurdity of apartheid and the work of the TRC using the language of the moving image: the bioscope or cinema. He speaks about the TRC as though it is a kind of fiction. Writing about this incident, Catherine Cole argues that the crowd did not embrace the theatrics of the TRC.²¹⁸ I disagree with this based on the knowledge that the crowds also participated in the process of witnessing, listening

²¹⁴ Taylor, *Ubu and The Truth Commission*.

²¹⁵ Annie E. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).

²¹⁶ Freedom park website: www.freedompark.co.za [Accessed 11 August 2015].

²¹⁷ Archbishop Desmond Tutu speaking to the crowds at Day 1 of the Port Elizabeth HRV hearings, 21- 23 May 1996. www.justice.gov.za/Trc/hrvtrans/hrvpe1/day1/htm [Accessed 6 November 2013].

²¹⁸ Catherine M. Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 16.

and forgiveness. They were the theatrics of the TRC because it was as much up to them to forgive as it was for the person(s) who granted amnesty. In other words, the victim/ perpetrator scenario played itself out not only in front of crowds around the country but *for* such crowds, as though the nation was watching a film.

Cole's interpretation of a longer excerpt of the same transcript focuses on the nature and impact of code switching between languages. Having watched the official video recordings of the hearings at the National Archives in Cape Town, Cole highlights the complexity of translation and interpretation because the Archbishop uses both English and isiXhosa in the actual hearing. This information is lost in the transcription due to the fact that transcripts were only published in English. Because of Tutu's code switching, Cole argues that his message was clear and he was able to better manage the hearings, able to "stage-manage, to orchestrate contending forces, to shift abruptly the tone, style, language, and mood of the proceedings" and through doing so, he "kept the audience and all participants slightly off guard"²¹⁹. This, she argues, "proved efficacious for moving the ritual forward, for keeping the show on the road, for better or worse"²²⁰.

Tutu's use of communication via different languages is a common characteristic of code switching in South Africa. There are thus two points worth noting in relation to this excerpt: the first is the use of the metaphor of the TRC as bioscope. The performative and interpretive nature of the TRC was always complicit to the objective of unearthing truth. The second point is related to two parts of the excerpt that emphasise the prominence of Blackness in particular and the conflicted nature of the

²¹⁹ Catherine M. Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages Of Transition* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 17.

²²⁰ Ibid.

relationship between Blackness and memory through the TRC. Through framing the trauma, and the bioscope as a 'Black' experience, Tutu emphasises a particular awareness around being Black in this TRC project of recalling apartheid, a projection that because the new government is Black, there is a fear that the whole enterprise of the TRC will be mocked because it wasn't run well because of unruly (Black) behaviour.

Mamdani's caution, that the moral and intellectual compromise of the TRC was unjustifiable, is useful once again.²²¹ Writing about this incident, Catherine Cole argues that the crowd did not embrace the theatrics of the TRC.²²² I disagree with this based on the knowledge that the audiences at the hearings were intrinsic witnesses who were active participants in the process of forgiveness.

Cole's interpretation of a longer excerpt of the same transcript focuses on the nature and import of code switching between languages and dialects in South Africa. Cole highlights the complexity of translation and interpretation because the Archbishop uses both English and isiXhosa in the actual hearing, adding that his ability to go between languages in this way aided his ability to "stage-manage, to orchestrate contending forces, to shift abruptly the tone, style, language, and mood of the proceedings" and through doing so, he "kept the audience and all participants slightly off guard"²²³. This, Cole argues, "proved efficacious for moving the ritual forward, for keeping the show on the road, for better or worse"²²⁴. Code switching also occurs throughout the films in this chapter, more effectively in some than others because not many of the main protagonists are South African.

²²¹ Mamdani, "The Truth According to the TRC" in Amadiume and An-Nam (eds.), *The Politics of Memory*, p. 178.

²²² Catherine M. Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 16.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

Part One

The Truth Shall Set You Free and 'Full Disclosure' in *In My Country* and *Red Dust*

Red Dust

The primary request that the commission (and victims) had of those who applied for amnesty in the TRC was 'full disclosure', which meant that anyone who wished to be granted full amnesty was to provide the complete details of the act that they were responsible for. This meant that, as expressed repeatedly in *In My Country*, the gruesome minuscule details of tortures, killings and other human rights crimes were to be shared in front of the commission and the public at the hearings.

The films *Red Dust* and *In My Country* are films which represent the TRC in its official capacity mainly through a recreation of the setting of the hearings. These films portray the TRC as the watershed moment that cements the end of apartheid. Both films follow a narrative structure which draws on a familiar trope seen in the films discussed in Chapter Two, which emphasises that anti-apartheid justice was achieved through Black and white masculine unions. The films in this section however employ the same cross-racial approach but not through men working together but through Black men and white women. The shift in cross-racial gender relations is meaningful because it means that the emphasis also transfers from the proactive white and Black fight *against* apartheid, to the more forgivable white woman who, through cross racial relations is retrospectively able to vindicate the apartheid project and alongside it, other whites.

The power of *In My Country* and *Red Dust* is retained in each film's ability to show what happened at the TRC, what it was about and how it employed its methods

of uncovering truths. In such renditions of the TRC, the ultimate emphasis is located in representations of the good whites and their ability to work with the Blacks in order to achieve the 'Rainbow Nation'. In such narratives the end of apartheid is possible not because many whites believed in the system but because some whites fought against apartheid. In the films discussed in this chapter these characters are rebellious white women, as opposed to 'out of place' white men. *Red Dust* (Tom Hooper, 2004) is a co-production of the UK and South Africa. The film is based on the novel of the same name by Gillian Slovo, the daughter of anti-apartheid stalwarts Joe Slovo and Ruth First. *In My Country* (John Boorman, 2004) is based on Antje Krog's *Country of My Skull* (1998) which is a personal account of the poet's own experience of the hearings.

I am interested in how 'full disclosure' functions in these two films. Because of the emphasis on the watershed moment of the TRC and the interracial relationships in these films, the whole project of the TRC, and any representation of it, becomes an overly sentimentalised exploitation of the real possibilities of the new nation. *Red Dust's* Alex Mpondo (Chiwetel Ejiofor) is a struggle hero and is treated as such when he goes to a small town to testify before the TRC on behalf of himself and fellow comrade, Steve Sizela (Loyiso Gxwala), whose parents want to know what happened to their son. Steve is dead and only appears in flashbacks and so it is through Mpondo's capricious memory that we learn about Steve. Mpondo is also there to oppose amnesty being granted to his torturer, a security policeman named Dirk Hendricks (Jamie Bartlett). Sarah Barcant (Hilary Swank) returns to South Africa from New York after many years of not having lived in the country because of her own experience of apartheid law when she and her Black boyfriend at the time were detained. This is the first time she has returned to the country since then and she finds that she is still ridiculed for having had a relationship with a Black man, even though apartheid is over.

During the proceedings of the TRC, Barcant learns that although she made it out of the country that she despised, the boyfriend who she left behind was killed in detention.

According to Lucia Saks, the film conforms to the conventions of the political thriller genre and succeeds in subverting the male gaze because we learn about the case mostly through Barcant and not Mpondo, who was himself detained along with Steve.²²⁵ In an early scene in the film, Mpondo and Barcant agree to meet at a swimming pool after the former's morning laps. Barcant arrives at the entrance to the dusty town's community pool to find it locked. A small sign on the wall indicates that not much time has passed between the end of apartheid and the TRC, as the pool's 'whites only' sign is still present. That the pool is closed may indicate the tacit understanding of that immediate post-apartheid moment: that there was no real rules for how to move forward, which further accentuates the importance of the TRC. Barcant appears small in the middle of a wide-angle shot which shows a dusty road, a derelict old wall surrounding the pool and the large closed doors that she will not be able to enter. She manages to make it over the high wall in her black power suit: a formal jacket and skirt with sling-back shoes. It is clear from Barcant's attire that her presence here is temporary, as her wardrobe does not accommodate the context of the small town; she is defiantly a particular kind of corporate urbanite.

Mpondo is furiously racing through laps on the other side of the wall. When Barcant leans down at the edge of the pool to indicate that she has arrived he simply continues without acknowledging her presence. She is forced to wait for him on a concrete bleacher, with Barcant seated in a eerily empty place where one would usually expect crowds. Alex is not hurried by her presence and when he eventually

²²⁵ Saks, *Cinema in a Democratic SA*, p. 103.

emerges, he takes a leisurely shower, then dries himself while casually starting a chat with Barcant, who is at this stage desperate to talk about the case.

Saks argues that this moment subverts the masculine gaze that is so common in feature films. She writes that “...it is likely that Alex’s positioning in the film as bearer of the look operates in a dual way: it is symptomatic of his historical position, even in the ‘new’ South Africa, and it is an expression of female white empowerment”.²²⁶ She also takes into account that Alex’s body is both powerful (shown to us by his rigorous training and his toned body on exiting the pool) and scarred by the torture he experienced when he was detained. My own reading of this scene differs from Saks’s. In this scene and in the development of the relationship between the two, the film continues to emphasise Barcant’s dual and complex relationship with South Africa. We watch Barcant struggle with her own position to South Africa alongside the struggles of the TRC as a whole.

Two complex narratives are thus placed in dialogue with each other: one to do with Barcant’s whiteness in a place she despises and the other with Mpondo’s torture, and post-traumatic stress disorder. Despite what happened to Alex as the bearer of the physical scars of apartheid torture, we are consistently reminded of Sarah’s struggle and sacrifices as a good white. In the same way that Sarah is a visitor ‘sneaking a look’ at the country, and at the new leaders represented by Alex, we too are invited to witness South Africa as ‘not such a bad place’, if we can work together and heal. This is made clear in Barcant’s childlike relationship to the older father-like figure, Ben. He encourages her to see the good in the TRC and thus the good in the new South Africa. He, like the TRC, preaches about ‘ubuntu’ and the possibilities for

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 104.

real change through it. Barcant is placed in relation to two other kinds of white characters, Ben and the security policemen who apply for amnesty, and so the good white versus the bad white opposition is persistent. The Black characters however remain viewed from a victim-only position, as traumatised and poor (like the community in which the hearing takes place) or traumatised and now in power (like Alex).

Nevertheless, *Red Dust* is still able to give a valuable perspective through its re-enactment of the trial setting of the TRC, and portrayal of the official TRC. For example, the film brings to light an issue of askaris and the complexity of such a position held by Alex, who is considered a hero throughout the film until the public learn that he sold Steve out while they were in detention. The 'impimpi' or traitor is a narrative trope that also appears in the other films discussed in this chapter and often appears as a too easy way of making it clear that some Black people sold out and thus in the same way as it must be acknowledged that some whites were good, it must be acknowledged that some Blacks were bad.

Another official TRC trope in *Red Dust* is the appearance of interpreters and an assigned comforter or mourner. This is a distinct choice because it shows the film's use of a close model of the real TRC to make its representations believable, but it also shows the components of the TRC hearings that made those events distinct from other hearings. The character of the comforter is not shown or explored beyond an initial appearance and introduction to Alex on his first day at the trial. The presence and acknowledgement of the comforters throughout the TRC and the meaning inscribed in having people there to comfort the victims is meaningful as it affirms that their feelings and memories are valid.

Alex's comforter introduces herself to him after he enters on the stage of the community hall where the trial is held. The introduction takes place moments after Alex and perpetrator Hendricks meet each other's gaze from across the hall: Alex is on his way towards the stage and Hendricks is about to take his seat on the stage. It is clear that Alex is a hero in the community because crowds of people mill around him, congratulate him, welcome him and generally want to be near him. But Alex has also ascended beyond the credentials of anti-apartheid freedom fighter to a new kind of post-apartheid hero; he is part of the government that rules the country. Alex, the crowds and the single white face, Barcant, walk towards the camera. As they are framed in medium and long shots with crowds almost ushering them to the stage, we get a feeling of the excitement at the importance of this moment. In the next shot we see a medium shot of Hendricks, who is brought onto the stage by policemen. They remove his cuffs and he is instructed to sit at the table on one end of the stage. This community venue is where the hearing will take place in this small town. It is set up similarly to a courtroom except that the perpetrator sits on one side of the stage and the victim, a term Alex refuses, sits on the other. Between the two sit the committee, who guide the process through listening and asking questions. The rest of the venue, which faces the stage, is filled with chairs for members of the community and the media to bear witness to the request for amnesty, which Alex intends to refuse.

As Alex enters onto the stage from the side curtains we see the comforter introduce herself to him. Alex however seems very confident and although he respectfully acknowledges her as 'Mama', he is still dismissive of the woman. She appears only once in her role as comforter, when she puts a hand on his shoulder during Hendricks' testimony about the methods of torture use by the security police. The camera then zooms out to capture the panel on the stage, who are Alex and

Sarah, the three commissioners and to the right of them, the perpetrator and his lawyer.

The participants in the hearing are viewed from just behind a media camera which is purposefully included in the shot and serves as a reminder of the overpowering presence of the media, interpreters and documentation that went into each hearing. Bruzzi's distinction between the negotiation of what actually happened and how it is represented is also relevant. She emphasises that the process between the two means that they are both distinct as well as interactive.²²⁷ By being able to see the victim, perpetrator, committee and the new camera that captures the proceedings, we are able to, through the film, experience the official and interpreted elements of the TRC. As the head counsellor calls for order, Alex removes the title 'Victim' which sits in front of him on the table and chucks it to the side, a signal of his own dismissal not only of the title but of the effect of the trauma of the past on his current life.

Red Dust employs the classical flashback in its narrative to give the viewer information about Alex and Steve in detention and to vindicate Alex from the impimpi status that Hendricks tries to pin onto him. The same flashback is used in three other parts of the film. They appear different because they are of different lengths and because of where they appear in the film. Although each flashback seems to take on an individual meaning, it is the final one that contextualises all of them. The flashbacks in *Red Dust* complicate the role of the viewer because on the one hand, we remain in the position of part witnessing the events of the TRC hearing along with the members

²²⁷ Bruzzi, *New Documentary*, p. 13.

of the audience. On the other hand, because of the flashbacks, we know more than the audiences and as much as the perpetrator and victim at the hearings.

The first flashback appears after the title sequence at the beginning of the film. It starts as a close-up that shows the bloodied and mutilated face of a Black man. The camera holds the gruesome close-up for a few moments, which reveals that the left eye is almost out of its socket and his entire face is covered in blood. When the camera zooms out we see his full body covered in blood on a blood-covered floor. It is a disturbing opening sequence. On the soundtrack we hear a voice that does not correlate with the disturbing images. A male voice says, "You've made a big mess here, hey?", followed by a chuckle. The eyes of the face meet the camera just before the man is dragged off-screen by his feet. He lifts an arm as though wanting to grab the viewer as he stares directly at the camera through his one eye. He is almost pleading for help, for saving. The second time we see this character we realise that he is Steve Sizela, Alex's friend, whose parents have asked him about their son and who now wish to get answers from the TRC about his disappearance.

The second flashback occurs in sporadic shots between Hendricks' testimony at the TRC. As he explains the methods of torture and which of these were used on Alex, Alex's recollection takes place via jolting flashbacks. This is the same first day of the hearings which is discussed in detail earlier in this section. The camera jumps between Hendricks and Alex to show Alex's anguish at the memory of that night. The final time that this flashback is employed is close to the end of the film and it shows Alex and Steve both tortured and bloodied in an interrogation room with Hendricks and another security policeman. Alex is seated on the floor and his upper body is draped over the seat of a chair. Steve is against a wall to Alex's right and he is in a bad state, with his

eye out of its socket and his entire face unrecognisable. Hendricks wants Alex to identify Steve as his comrade. Alex does not acquiesce and instead of agreeing to their answers, Alex and Steve share a look, an eyeline match of recognition and acknowledgment between the two. Hendricks picks up Alex's arm to point to Steve and decides that this would suffice as suitable identification. Alex briefly drops his head at the same time and this is the further confirmation that the policemen need to kill Steve. This seems to be the moment in which Alex actually sells out but other details in the plot show this not to be true.

It is important to note the head gesture, as it remains unclear whether Alex actually identified his comrade or not. The flashback ends in the same way as the film began, with Steve being dragged out of the room. It is clear that what is perceived as a desperate look towards the viewer at the start of the film is in the flashback unveiled as a final farewell to Alex, as Steve knows he will never see him again. Instead of the flashback ending with Steve's haunting face, the camera tilts upwards to show who drags him, the perpetrator at the hearing, Hendricks. In this way, the flashback at the end of the film, like the end of the TRC, holds someone (or people) accountable for the horrific actions of apartheid by naming them. But this scene also serves as a confusing strategy to make the viewer unsure about Alex and thus, in his new capacity in government, untrusting of whether he can truly be trusted.

In My Country

In My Country's Afrikaner, Anna Malan (Juliette Binoche), is deeply affected by the process and retelling of traumatic stories from the TRC hearings. The film opens with Anna's father asking her to know her place, reminding Anna that she is not Black but is an Afrikaner. This is a way of the film introducing its main protagonist by

situating her on the South African landscape. He dismisses the TRC hearings, which Anna will cover as a journalist for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the country's national broadcaster. Anna is deeply moved by the hearings and spends most of her energy trying to explain and prove to African-American Langston Whitfield (Samuel L. Jackson) that 'ubuntu' is real. Anna herself is married to a white man and has three boys but as the film progresses she finds herself increasingly more unable to access the middle-class white world that her friends and family occupy so unscrupulously.



[Figure 3.1] Anna Malan and Langston Whitfield in first confrontation about the TRC



[Figure 3.2] Media arrive in the TRC bus for the first hearing



[Figure 3.3] Arrival of crowds at the first hearing in the film. TRC banner is clearly visible. Also visible is a choir dressed in the national flag.

Anna gets to go home every few weeks when the TRC is either between provinces or on a break. On one such weekend on a visit home, Anna and her husband have friends over for a casual braai (barbecue). The couple sit around a table with friends as their children play in a pool in the yard. A Black domestic worker tends to the table. It is a typical South African middle-class afternoon. The conversation at the table jumps from one topic to the next, from better security for white homes to whites fleeing the country to other general topics that are in no way political, let alone about the TRC, Anna's complete preoccupation. The camera focuses on Anna, who looks dazed and in disbelief. She is shot in a medium close-up and from the proximity we are able to see her chest heaving slightly, which indicates her mood as her friends and husband continue with 'ordinary' conversation. Her deadpan expression against their laughter achieves something different to the good whites versus bad whites dichotomy. *In My Country* depicts Anna as somewhere in between a character like

Ben and Barcant in *Red Dust* because she, like Ben, believes in the project of the TRC and differently to Barcant, does not dismiss the country completely but also, as is shown in this leisurely scene in her own back yard, is torn about whether whites that can be trusted with this fragile moment in South Africa. According to the traumatised Anna, they simply do not seem to take it very seriously. She interrupts their superficial musings with a question that has been sitting with her since the last trial she attended, and wants to know if her friends think it is possible to rape with a political motive. Her friends, particularly the women, look deeply uncomfortable. The camera does a pan of the table showing their expressions. As Anna continues to look around the table with great expectation, one of the men at the table begins to respond to her and one of the women interjects to say that they need to leave. Anna's husband shoots her a look across the table but her expression remains the same and soon the party atmosphere is over. This scene is indicative of Anna's growing experience of the trauma of the hearings.

Anna is flanked by two Black men: Dumi her sound engineer from the SABC on one side and Langston, the African-American journalist who she eventually befriends after a boozy night out. The relationship between Anna and Langston extends beyond friendship. When at one of the hearings Langston asks Dumi why Anna is crying when none of the Black people in the audience are crying, Dumi tells him that "we" (referencing Black people) "have done our crying". Dumi's comment highlights two points that came up throughout the TRC, firstly that white people did not know the extent of the genocide that occurred in the Black townships and secondly, the ordinariness of trauma in black communities in South Africa. A similar sentiment of disbelief was expressed in *ADry White Season* when Gordon tried to tell Ben about what was happening in the townships. But it is also different in this rendition which

takes place against the backdrop of post-apartheid because the feeling that is conveyed is that if more whites knew then more would have fought against the system. This is a very strong element of Anna's consistent sadness and despair when she hears the testimonies at the hearings. Anna is the good and likeable white in this film and through learning who her family is, her brother's suicide at the end of the film, her husband's ability to forgive her infidelity and the ability of so many to have forgiven the horrendous acts of rape and violence, we as viewers are encouraged to see and believe in the spirit of 'ubuntu' that Anna professes as possible for post-apartheid South Africa and for post-apartheid South Africans throughout the film.

Although we see the full spectrum of Anna's life we only get brief glimpses into the lives of other characters. For example, Dumi is a local and lives in a township in Cape Town, and Langston Whitfield covers the hearings for an indifferent US audience, according to his editor, but this is the extent of our knowledge of their lives. We do, however, witness Anna's home and family. *In My Country* implies that Langston is attached to the TRC process because of his own African-American heritage. This is evident in his judgemental stance towards Anna and his defensiveness about Black South Africans, as though he protects the Blacks from her.

The film's culmination incorporates two deaths of secondary characters, which further complicates what the new South Africa has been constructed as up until this point. Anna's brother commits suicide because of the guilt of having tortured people during apartheid. After Anna and Langston find the farm on which tortures were carried out, Anna learns that her own brother was involved. As an Afrikaner man, his decision to kill himself is a decision to punish himself for the acts he committed and the guilt he sat with. Against the backdrop of the TRC proceedings throughout the film

and his sister's growing trauma, the suicide brings up conflicted ideas because, on the one hand, the film's close representations of the trials do bring up the question of what adequate punishment might be in such a case. On the other hand, and because the reasons for his suicide are never discussed in the film, it is also possible to wonder whether he simply got what he deserved.

The second death is Dumi's. In a much earlier conversation about 'impimpis', Dumi became defensive about why people sell out, arguing that sometimes, things are grey. When Dumi invites Anna and Langston to his home to celebrate the end of the hearings, Anna declines but Langston goes with him. Shown to be in a township setting, and framed in a wide-angle shot, the pair drive down a narrow road as they approach Dumi's house. Previously unknown characters drive up to them. Dumi knows them as local 'tsotsis'. When the leader of the gang comments on Dumi's position as a double agent, we learn why he made those earlier comments. He dies in the middle of the road and the 'tsotsis' quickly vacate the scene while Langston is left there. The film's comment, when taken alongside the earlier suicide, is that truth, justice, forgiveness and memory are all grey areas. *In My Country* thus also suggests that not everyone who was Black suffered during apartheid and not everyone who was white participated in torture.

Characters like Anna, Dumi and Langston equalise the playing field of historical Black trauma because *In My Country* extends the TRC beyond South Africa's history by making it seem that Langston's vehemence and personal affliction with the TRC is the same (or at the very least similar) just because he is also Black. This points to an even further problem of representation in the film, which is that it oversimplifies Black histories. We are, however, through the depth of representation of Anna, consistently

reminded that not all whites were bad or knew the extent of what happened during apartheid. Lindiwe Dovey argues that these films are in fact aware of and make an attempt “...to understand the nuances of South Africa’s violent past and present”.²²⁸ By contrast I have viewed these two films as useful, but nevertheless overtly reductionist in their undertakings, Dovey argues that it is remarkable that the filmmakers have “shunned engagement in the discourse of ‘black victimhood’, as one would expect in the immediate post-apartheid era”.²²⁹ She sees this as an important way of representing the difficulty that some Black people, like the character of Dumi in particular, must have faced when they had to choose a perpetrator position through, “the metonymic displacement of violence”.²³⁰ Perhaps such a view would be possible if the Black characters were better rounded but they are generally not in either film. This leads me to see representations in such films as closely aligned with monolithic white representations more broadly. Richard Dyer points out the value and importance of thinking about the cultural construction(s) of white people... “white makings of whiteness...” and it is precisely this criticality that is missing in relation to the representations of white characters in *Red Dust* and *In My Country*.²³¹

Whereas *Red Dust* covers the hearings from the perspective of a single hearing, which is meant to act as a metaphor for the many others, *In My Country*’s approach is via Anna’s experience of different hearings brought before the Human Rights Violations Committee of the TRC. We experience the TRC from Anna’s point of view and her interpretations of the hearings through her SABC radio reports. Because of this, the journey is as much about Anna’s search for forgiveness for *her* people as it is

²²⁸ Dovey, *African Film and Literature*, p. 55.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Richard Dyer, *White* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. xiv.

about those who bring forth testimonies, actively mourn and receive momentary comfort, but nevertheless must leave the hearings to continue with life. Anna loses herself when a white man comes forward for answers about the murder of his family. She enters the hearing late and is framed in a long shot walking towards the camera. She looks around for a seat and finds one in front of Langston and Dumi and next to an Afrikaner man. As the victim emotionally retells his story Anna begins to laugh. She nudges the man next to her as though they are sharing a joke. Her laughing quickly progresses into hysterical tears and seated next to the large man, she looks small and vulnerable. She is all the while framed in a medium close-up which makes it possible to see her facial expression of disbelief at the horrors that continue to pile up through the TRC. Anna's loss of control is not an inability to understand the information she is hearing but an indication of her saturation with traumatic stories from South Africa's past, and reflective of a kind of transferred posttraumatic stress disorder through witnessing the stories.

The scene that follows is of Langston comforting her in a hotel room. A comforting hug quickly progresses into an extra-marital affair that continues for the duration of the TRC hearings. Anna's breakdown in the hearings is a reflection of her state of mind at the time, a state that extends the loss of control to her decision to sleep with Langston. Anna's loss of control is not only about herself but is also about trying to figure out where and how she could fit in as an Afrikaner in South Africa when the TRC showed so starkly how many Afrikaners believed in and protected apartheid. This was not a half-baked side project but an omnipresent one.

The emphasis of *In My Country* is on whiteness. In relation to both films discussed in this section, I consider the possibility that the idea of 'full disclosure' is not

only about the perpetrators telling the whole truth but also about the good whites who, like Anna and Sarah, are themselves represented as traumatised by the factual accounts of torture, deaths and the wholehearted belief on the part of the security police that they were just following orders. In other words, full disclosure is complex because it not only references the facts of the bad acts on the part of the apartheid security police, it also now, at the TRC, necessarily includes full disclosure of all feelings in post-apartheid South Africa. It is difficult not to empathise with, and even like Anna who is sincere, tenacious and very hopeful for herself, her family and her nation.

It is as difficult not to like and feel an affinity with Sarah, who seems adequately angry at and disgusted with apartheid South Africa. Above all else though, the narrative of these films means that both these women are vindicated by their sexual relations with Black men. Such logic seems to imply that because both Anna and Sarah were with Black men, they cannot be racist and thus must really believe in 'ubuntu'. It is 'ubuntu' in action when families at the TRC are able to forgive perpetrators for various vicious acts and it is this same 'ubuntu' that Anna asks her husband to enact when she confesses to the extra-marital affair. His forgiveness for her should not be ignored as something that is merely part of the narrative as it presents an action for which Anna must herself be forgiven.

Part Two

'Acting Out', Forgiveness and Revenge: *Forgiveness* and *Zulu Love Letter*

Forgiveness

"Are seeking revenge and offering forgiveness two sides of the same coin, different ways of trying to take some control where there is such a despairing level of powerlessness?", ask Cynthia Ransley and Terri Spy in their study of forgiveness and the healing process.²³² In this section I discuss films by two Black South African directors, Ian Gabriel and Ramadan Suleman. Both *Forgiveness* and *Zulu Love Letter* resist the wholly optimistic approach and assumptions of 'the new South Africa'.

Forgiveness is Ian Gabriel's first feature film. The script is predominantly in Afrikaans, the local language spoken in Paternoster, the small town in which the film is set. *Zulu Love Letter* is Ramadan Suleman's third independent film. The film is set in Johannesburg, a large city with a cultural mix of people from around the country and the continent; thus many languages are spoken there. The film reflects this multicultural milieu and characters speak isiZulu, Sesotho, English, Afrikaans and local slang that combines two or more of these languages and others. It was co-funded by South Africa, France and Germany. Both *Forgiveness* and *Zulu Love Letter* were also part funded by the NFVF.

Forgiveness follows the journey of ex-apartheid policeman Tertius Coetzee, who seeks absolution from the family of a young man whom he killed in 1991. Coetzee travels to find Daniel Grootboom's family, who he hopes will offer him something beyond the amnesty he has already received from the TRC. The family has

²³² Cynthia Ransley and Terri Spy (eds.), *Forgiveness and the Healing Process: A Central Therapeutic Concern* (East Sussex and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 4.

been in the depth of struggling since their son died. They are represented as experiencing an inescapable complex mix of emotions and a great deal of sadness. Paternoster, where the film is set, is one of the oldest fishing villages on the west coast of South Africa. It is populated mostly with coloured fishing families and this is true also for the film. The Grootbooms are a fishing family and Daniel was the first son who was ever sent to study further. The choice to have the film set in such a context is an unusual choice for a few reasons. Firstly, because the film is set in a small town there is little distraction from the main issue and there is a distinct feeling that the centrality of the apartheid past of which Daniel's murder is a part, and the processes of the TRC and forgiveness cannot be escaped. In a very poetic manner, the sea as part of the *mise-en-scène* of the film plays its own role as the tide rises and falls with each passing day, very much like the emotions in the film.

Another noteworthy point about the setting of this film is the emphasis on the coloured township and a coloured family as central to the plot. Often TRC stories that are chosen for re-enactment have black Africans as main protagonists because this was the population group most harshly affected by apartheid. While this is the case in *Red Dust* and *In My Country*, the other film discussed in this section, *Zulu Love Letter*, incorporates characters of different races to show that apartheid affected Black South Africans even though it was most severe for black Africans. Generally however, other Blacks are not as visible in TRC films, or rather part of the construction of the new government has been an inability to really create room for the stories of all races in South Africa to be of equal cultural value. Many representations have been overly simplified in the films to make the dominant narrative about South Africa in apartheid one exclusively about Black Africans, also not a homogeneous group, appear as such. Gabriel's choice for the film to be about a 'coloured' family is a historical assertion that

the 'Rainbow Nation' does not only mean black and white but in fact encompasses the full meaning of the term Black: black, coloured, Indian, mixed-race and white. The term 'coloured' is however used in the analysis of *Forgiveness* because the film's focus is on a family who represent some of the historical baggage of 'colouredness'. Nevertheless, the thesis still considers such a grouping under the term 'Black'.

Among the few signposts and landmarks along Coetzee's journey into the humble coloured township of Paternoster are the shell covered graves, the image of the empty shore, portrayed quite unglamorously in this film (perhaps because it is the primary means of living) and the small almost identical houses that reference apartheid forced removals practices. The film's opening scene is shot from Coetzee's point of view of a sandy road as he drives towards an as yet unknown destination. We see the road covered by sea sand as he enters a small town. The street appears forlorn and is empty until a young man runs up to him and slams two live crayfish on the driver's side window. The 'click click clicking' of the crayfish tentacles on the window is audible on the soundtrack as the young man shouts something about a cheap price. Coetzee is jolted by the seller but his expression soon returns to the worried looking expression that the film opens with. A little way on he stops at a four way stop where a woman with curlers in her hair stares ahead at nothing in particular. The camera zooms out slightly to establish the scene; to the left of screen is an old unused fishing boat with a derelict welcome sign on it that Tertius does not even see. Neither the woman nor the sign appear very welcoming to the white man. Coetzee asks the woman to direct him to the cemetery. "Go back the way you came", she says with a deadpan expression. The woman indicates a physical about turn as well as one that can be read as a metaphor for him to return to the emotional place he comes from.

The Grootboom 'stoep' is a large open-plan make-shift area from which the ocean is visible in the not too far distance. It has been haphazardly covered with weathered fishing nets to provide some shelter. In the wind the nets look haunting and contribute even further to the overall forlorn look of the property. The house's cream-coloured walls are peeling and patchy, an indication that they have not been painted in a long time. This is the derelict mise-en-scène when Father Dalton and Tertius first arrive at the Grootboom house one overcast and grey afternoon. They are first captured in a tracking shot walking towards the camera and the family. Linen sheets flap in the wind, covering parts of their approaching bodies as they walk towards the stoep. Waiting there are Mr and Mrs Grootboom, who he walks towards; he passes Sannie and Ernest and comes to stand between the parents and the children. Father Dalton offers that they should sit. On this first visit to the Grootboom family Tertius explains that he is there to apologise for having killed their son. Daniel's parents are confused because the TRC has already granted Coetzee amnesty.

This scene utilises close-ups many times to convey the extreme and heightened emotions of each character. Facial expressions are not enough to convey Ernest's resentment, Sannie's rage, Magda Grootboom's heartbreak and Mr Grootboom's guilt and sadness. But facial expressions are also not enough to show Tertius' own guilt and brokenness about what he has done, his inability to work through, let alone past the trauma. The family is clearly on guard. Mr Grootboom protectively has his hand on his wife's shoulder, while a clearly upset Sannie watches to the right of the screen. The youngest son, Ernest, is seated, frantically writing away on a clipboard with a calculator set in front of him. Father Dalton and Coetzee appear from behind the blowing white sheets on the washing line. The awkward meeting is short, mostly

comprised of looming questions around why the man who murdered their son is now at their house. But it is the children who bring the issue to light when Sannie calls Tertius a “murderous, white bastard”, shortly followed by Ernest who demands to know whether Coetzee has R1000 000 to give them because that would have been his brother’s annual income as an engineer. The siblings point to the loss of promise in their household as well as a loss of hope because neither of them has been able to go to University since what happened to Daniel interrupted their lives. Ernest’s monetary concerns also highlight the issue of reparations by emphasising the inadequacy of an apology with words, as in the TRC.

A second meeting takes place the following day after a heated family disagreement between Sannie and her father. She accuses her father of being deceptive about Daniel’s death because they have never revealed that Daniel was a freedom fighter and not the victim of a botched hijacking. Because his death is still remembered as an accident he has never received any recognition for his role in the struggle. Sannie wants her brother to be mourned as a hero, not someone to be ashamed of or pitied. Her bold attack on her father culminates in Sannie receiving a flat-palmed slap across the face from him which leaves her, and the rest of the family, speechless.

The family is clearly upset that Sannie has invited the man back to their home but they are mostly upset that the details of Daniel’s death are now being openly discussed. Mrs Grootboom, for example, retreats to her bedroom after she upsets Ernest with a comment that implies that Daniel was the perfect son. Mr Grootboom, trying to remedy the quickly unravelling situation, instructs Sannie to phone Coetzee to tell him not to come. The camera follows him walking out of the cramped kitchen

towards the bedroom where his wife is. It then captures Sannie who, watching her father walk away from her shouts a defiant “no!” in response to his instruction. He turns around, shocked that she would speak to him in this way.

Mr Grootboom’s looming stance and tone towards Sannie in this scene indicates that he still treats her as a child, an indication of the parents’ stagnation after Daniels’ death, in that they are unable to see the growth and development of their other children. A confrontational shot-reverse-shot pattern ensues between father and daughter, first with father and daughter on opposite ends of the small lounge area and then towards the end of the scene, with a close-up of Mr Grootboom smacking his daughter across her right cheek. The close-up of his hand on her face and then the follow up close-up of Sannie holding her right cheek with both hands emphasises not only the shock of the action but also the shock of the bottled-up feelings that have been present in the home.

The conflict between Sannie and her father could be taken to be simply an issue of generational conflict. However, Gabriel is exploring a difficult and contentious issue beyond the death in the family, an issue of shame that Daniel was involved with politics. This kind of shame is historically linked to being coloured, a racial classification of apartheid South Africa. As Zimitri Erasmus points out, growing up coloured in Cape Town “...meant knowing that I was *not only* not white, but *less than white; not only* not black, but *better than black...*”.²³³ This points to one of the many complexities of making sense of post-apartheid identities and in a way, challenges the construction of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ because it brings to light the intricacies of racial classifications and divisions as systemic despite the end of apartheid. Gabriel is able to

²³³ Zimitri Erasmus, “Re-Imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa” in Zimitri Erasmus (ed.), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (Cape Town: Kwela, 2001), p. 17.

highlight such a discourse in *Forgiveness*, particularly through Daniel's father, who is a representative of a particular generation of stoic coloured men.

More than this though, Gabriel's choice for the Grootboom parents to be embarrassed by their son's participation in the struggle speaks to the problematic position of the coloured population group and their relationship to racialised white power during apartheid. In post-apartheid this population group is still 'in the middle' even in the somewhat politically and racially inverted new South Africa. Coloureds also occupied a slightly privileged position in apartheid South Africa as they were fairer in complexion than black Africans and thus received certain 'benefits'. In the context of the disagreement between Sannie and her father it is also this generational issue that is prominent: that Mr Grootboom did not consider his son's death heroic but remained angry at himself (and at Daniel) for getting involved in politics and terrorism (what Black freedom fighters were accused of) at all. The economic and political position and sentiment of some of the coloured population of Mr Grootboom's generation and that of Sannie and Ernest's generation is shown to be very different throughout this film.

Where the Grootboom parents, whose views are articulated only by Mr Grootboom, wish to leave the issues around their son's death in the past, their children wish to rectify how easily Coetzee has been granted forgiveness by denying it to him. The children raise an issue not only of reparations and 'easy' forgiveness through the TRC but also a consideration of punishment for what he did. In their overtly angry stances and actions towards Coetzee, the children also 'act up', because seeing him makes the multiple deaths in their family (Daniel's physical death, the

death of family life, the death of the children's hopes and futures in lieu of their brother going to the city) real all over again.

Coetzee's second visit to the Grootboom house is very different to the first. In this one he testifies to them, in ways reminiscent of the hearings discussed in the previous section of this chapter but also different. Father Dalton still mediates, as the commissioners would have done in the official TRC but the close proximity between Coetzee and the family makes the experience different. Ernest Grootboom alerts his family to the unwanted visitor's return. Seated in their modest and relatively dark (despite the time of day) lounge area, the Grootboom family appears similar to how they did the day before: an upset mother, a protective father and two angry adult children who will never be able to capture their mother's attention the way Daniel does, even in death (perhaps particularly because of it). They are seated in a half-circle this time as Sannie probes Coetzee with the details of Daniel's death, decisions they made as the police, the plan to frame it as a hijack gone wrong. As we watch Coetzee explaining Daniel's last words to Magda Grootboom, the close-ups show that they are both crying.

It is as though, in this moment, the killer and mother are locked in sharing a special moment as Magda longingly imagines her son in these final moments of his death. In the midst of this tender moment, which takes place through a shot-reverse-shot sequence, we see Coetzee's desperation to be freed of guilt and Magda's unbearable heartbreak. We also see Ernest's mid-section to the left of Coetzee's head and to the left of the screen. Sannie is in charge of questioning and she is unrelenting, demanding to know *everything* that happened. Drawing our attention in is Ernest's right hand which becomes a prominent fist in the right corner of the screen. As soon

as Coetzee finishes and while the room is still sombre in the memory of Daniel's death that they have all had to imagine, as though at the TRC, Ernest picks up a pot and lets out a long deep throaty scream as he slams the pot onto Coetzee's head.

Ernest and Coetzee are held in the same frame for a few moments, reflecting both of their mental states: Coetzee remorseful and haunted and Ernest violently incensed. Ernest's action releases everyone else's feeling too as his mother and Sannie become hysterical, and everyone else tries to simultaneously hold back Ernest and help Coetzee, who is bleeding from the head. The scene is reminiscent of the previous afternoon's first meeting when Mrs Grootboom dropped the plate of 'koeksisters' after Sannie reminded her why Coetzee was there. The incidents with broken objects emphasise the broken family and the visceral jolts of brokenness that Coetzee represents to this family. This pain, often shown in their tears and, for example in Mrs Grootboom's case, in a distinct sense of confusion and a reclusive desire to be left alone, breaks through the seemingly placid dullness of the everyday and the knowledge that the day is not 'normal' when the nightmare of Daniel's death continues to recur. These actions are not the same as the solutions of talking proffered at the TRC hearings. Missing in the home TRC are the mourners and comforters as well as the other witnesses and audiences who watch and listen and also, forgive.

There is a sub-plot in this film which is not about forgiveness but about active revenge, which is not only a feeling, conveyed from the get-go by the Grootboom children but in another plot altogether. After Coetzee's first visit to the Grootboom family, Sannie calls an activist friend of Daniel's based in Johannesburg. On hearing that Daniel's killer is in Paternoster he instructs Sannie to keep Coetzee there; this is

actually why she invites Coetzee back the following day to see her family. Three young men, black, coloured and white set out on a road trip to Paternoster to kill the man who killed their friend. This is not only about punishment but also about vengeance and revenge. The full extent of revenge, unknown to the characters (and audience) until the end of the film, is only revealed in the final scenes of the film. Within the 'Rainbow Nation' trio who are on route to Paternoster to serve Coetzee the punitive death penalty that no longer exists in the country, lingers the as yet unknown answer to the question they have all been mulling over for the past ten years: who notified the police of Daniel's participation in the resistance movement? In a shocking moment, they and Sannie realise that it is not only the white policeman (Coetzee) but also the unsuspecting black comrade, Zuko, who has for all these years been equally guilty for Daniel's death.

The confrontation takes place at the end of the film, after Daniel's mother has decided to come out of living in the shadows, after the father has forgiven himself, his son and Coetzee and after Ernest has also faced his own anger and has embraced 'moving on'. Sannie appears not only to have forgiven Coetzee but also to be able to see the humanity in him, the true personification of 'ubuntu' as encouraged through the TRC. It appears that the family has truly been able to do the mourning, 'acting out' and 'working through' to reach a place of forgiveness. In her only instruction, Mrs Grootboom asks that Coetzee ask her son for forgiveness at his gravesite, after which she gives Coetzee her blessing to move on. It is while this final redemption takes place that the three comrades come screeching into the dusty graveyard of Paternoster.



[Figure 3.4] Daniel's comrades: The 'Rainbow Nation' trio

Coetzee and the trio exchange knowing looks of recognition. A series of shot-reverse-shots take place and this time, instead of Coetzee being the one opposite the Grootboom family, he is now on their side, shot in the same frame as them and protectively alongside Daniel's grave. The comrades are now on the opposite side of the fence. Each camp is representative of the 'Rainbow Nation' both in race and historical composition: age, political credibility and historical trauma. It is Coetzee, as a representative of the camp around the grave, who politely taps on the driver's window and asks the three to join them as they pay homage to Daniel. He clearly tries to protect the family. They exit the car and stand in a semi-circle with the family looking on. Daniel's mother recognises one of them. Coetzee, as though aware of his imminent death, is able to spare Sannie (the one who asked them to come) of her parents' questions in that he takes the blame for the untimely arrival of Daniel's comrades. This is yet another protective action of his towards the family. Another series of shot-reverse-shots ensues, in which an interesting final revelation realises the end of the film: forgiveness *and* revenge. Neither of these looks the way it was imagined, as is the case with the end of the TRC. Although the 'Rainbow Nation' myth was constructed and partially implemented, the material and social conditions remain

the same for so many that it remains difficult to fully buy into the myth.



[Figure 3.5] Daniel's family at grave

The situation unravels soon after the Coetzee family respectfully leave their son's graveside. The three comrades look unsure of what to do now that Coetzee has been forgiven and in the midst of this confusion, Zuko, the black comrade, shoots Coetzee with the AK47 they uncovered on a detour, an AK47 that, ten years prior, was part of a shipment of ammunition that the security police wanted information about and thus the reason for Daniel's death. Two of the three look perplexed because the reason for their journey quickly fell apart when they arrived to see the family alongside Coetzee. Zuko's intentions are however very different. In a much earlier scene we briefly saw Zuko speak to a young man in a wheelchair, who we learn is his brother. In that scene the short interaction between the brothers indicated that the one in the wheelchair warned him not to act foolishly. Zuko has not come to Paternoster to avenge Daniel, but for his brother's loss, which has affected his own life. As Coetzee bleeds to death next to Daniel's grave, the three scramble back to their car and drive off in the same blur of dust and sand that they arrived in. There is no further detail about their reaction to Zuko after they leave the scene.

The film concludes with a final shot of Coetzee's body next to Daniel's grave, a reminder that throughout the film we do not see a single image or photograph of Daniel. Only Sannie is left standing at her brother's grave as the final fade out occurs.

Although moments before the film seemed to indicate that forgiveness is possible even in unthinkable situations, the film then undoes this exact feeling by concluding with Coetzee's death, killing the one who was forgiven. But this final scene also comments on another myth about how racialised characters in post-apartheid films are preconceived according to race. Until Zuko confesses, it seems most obvious that it was the white comrade who sold out and gave Daniel's name to the security police. It appears a likely possibility not only that the white friend is the least trustworthy but also that he could potentially be a security policeman too. This construction is also a way in which the film questions the viewer's racial assumptions.

In *Forgiveness*, Ian Gabriel's choices to include such critical but unarticulated anger in Daniel's younger siblings and to have the intermediary in the film be a white male priest, or, to have Daniel's friends be the personification of the 'Rainbow Nation', are all manners in which he makes the TRC moot. There are moments in which it appears Gabriel himself may be unsure of how critical he wants the film to be. Father Dalton is a white male priest whose accent hints that he may be British and/ or South African and who, despite have agreed to set up the meeting between Coetzee and the Grootbooms, is clearly distressed by the information Coetzee shares about Daniel's murder. On one occasion soon after Coetzee arrives, he tells Coetzee that it is not fair to put people through this. On another occasion, when he explains what happened to Daniel, he interrupts him to suggest a euphemistic version of the events which Sannie dismisses. It appears that on these occasions Dalton is not speaking so much for the family as for himself because for the Grootboom family, as Dumi pointed out in *In My Country*, Black people are so used to these stories as they already live alongside and with trauma.

Like the witnesses who listened to the stories at the TRC, we as viewers also have to believe the victims and perpetrators in this film. As at the TRC, we are compelled to believe full disclosure and grant amnesty but it is the film itself which pushes beyond an official TRC representation that does not do either. As 'witness viewers', we, alongside the Grootbooms, also need to hear Coetzee's testimony to believe him and grant him amnesty. But we are not permitted to ignore the 'acting out' of the various characters that cannot simply forgive. In the scene which takes place in the small Grootboom lounge, the viewer stands in for the audience of the TRC. Like those audiences, viewers are able to hear and experience the interpretation of events and have our own feelings about the different parties on the issue of amnesty and forgiveness. Not being able to see Daniel or his death via flashbacks also means that the issue of trusting the story is pushed to a new limit. Flashbacks appear in all the other three films discussed in this chapter, for example, and they aid the process of showing the past, so as to take the viewers to a place where the TRC audience could never go.

Although the film is not easy to watch; there are other choices that Gabriel makes that easily lapse into racial stereotypes, taking away power from important earlier scenes. For example, Gabriel's casting of Daniel's comrades as a convenient multiracial trio, white, black and coloured, seems a too easy lapse into the use of stereotypes. Such a construction minimises the critical stance of Sannie towards her father in the earlier scene where she confronts him about the reasons for Daniel's death. In that scene we are able to perceive that apartheid categories were not all neat and easy to understand. In the construction of the anti-apartheid rainbow trio, it appears that Gabriel might be taking on too much. Although he is highly critical of racial constructs he also tries to dismantle them too quickly through characters that

have not really been developed beyond their old apartheid 'comrade' status. For example, while Tertius Coetzee is so highly developed that we are able to see how tortured and broken he is by his guilt, Zuko, the least characterised, comes off quite one-dimensionally as simply angry.

This leads to a very confusing ending, with a strong sense of not knowing what to be upset about or comforted by at the end of the film. Some of the questions *Forgiveness* leaves unanswered are: Who should we be angry at now that the white man who had gone to such great lengths to get true forgiveness is himself killed? Does post-apartheid permit anger at Black people? In other words, the grey area of being an 'impimpi' applied to apartheid but what of the present context? Dumi, for example, gets killed even after apartheid ends. Should anger be directed at Sannie's juvenile but shrewd attempts at murder or rather anger that she tells Coetzee too late, once she has decided that she can forgive him after all? The TRC did not equip South Africans to deal with these questions. However, if, as Lizelle Bischoff and Stefanie Van De Peer point out, one of the responsibilities of art is to deal with the unspeakable and to "... transport the spectator/ reader/ listener into the realm of experience", then *Forgiveness's* achievements extend beyond the remit.²³⁴

Zulu Love Letter

The Khulumani support group was started by victims who had testified at the TRC and who, to date, have still not received reparations from the state. *Zulu Love Letter*, directed by Ramadan Suleman (2004) is the only one of the four films that incorporates the existence of this organisation into its narrative about grief, trauma, memory and trying to move on after apartheid. The choice to do this is suggestive of

²³⁴ Bischoff and Van De Peer, "Introduction" in Bischoff and Van De Peer (eds.), *Art and Trauma*, p. 13.

the fact that this film casts a wider net around the TRC. *Zulu Love Letter* is not a film about forgiveness but rather its emphasis, like trauma, lies in the unspeakable and the unrepresentable in the daily lives of ordinary people and outside of the spectacle of the miracle of 'The Rainbow'.

This final analysis of the chapter focuses on how Suleman employs the strategy of the flashback to show the interiority of protagonist Thandeka (Pamela Nomvete), a journalist and anti-apartheid activist. Like Bhekizizwe Peterson, who replaces the term flashbacks with 'interludes', I also find the term inadequate for the complexity of the main protagonist, Thandeka's recurrent memory experience. Through the use of the term 'interlude', Peterson asserts an intention of the cinematic device "...simultaneously (to) encapsulate and disrupt the coherence of time and the certitudes of experience and memory".²³⁵ Like Jacqueline Maingard, I also find the classical flashback an insufficient term for the case of *Zulu Love Letter* and instead draw on Hirsch's conceptualisation of the post traumatic flashback (PT flashback).²³⁶

Although my suggestions for the use of the term is in line with Maingard's, this chapter's analysis furthers Maingard's in order to include the individual and the nation, making an argument that the film pays close attention to the portrayal of both these experiences, not one or the other. This is different to the classic flashbacks in *Red Dust*, which primarily function to impart information about the past. The PT flashbacks in *Zulu Love Letter* do not necessarily answer questions or reveal missing elements of the plot in the narrative of the film. On the contrary, they complicate the official discourse of the TRC. Shifts in temporality, pace, and the representation of the

²³⁵ Bhekizizwe Peterson, "Writer's Statement: Trauma, Art and Healing" in Peterson and Suleman, *Zulu Love Letter: a Screenplay* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), p. 22.

²³⁶ Jacqueline Maingard, "Love, Loss, Memory and Truth" in Peterson and Suleman, *Zulu Love Letter: a Screenplay* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), pp. 5 – 17.

challenging work of associative memory in the incorporation of the PT flashbacks allow for a consideration that such a flashback reveals more (in the narrative and to the viewers) than classical ones. The flashbacks bring about an erratic tempo indicative of Thandeka's mental state. And this shift in form connotes an experiential move away from Thandeka's everyday into something haunting from the past. Hirsch identifies three broad genres of classical flashbacks and their roles:

Melodramatic flashbacks contributed to the construction of a character, explaining the character's motivation within a present conflict and clarifying the action needed for narrative resolution. *Mystery flashbacks* revealed information previously withheld from the plot for purposes of suspense or comedy. And *biographical flashbacks* told life stories retrospectively, framing them in the present. As such, classical flashbacks played a key role in the teleological structure of the narratives.²³⁷

The first PT flashback begins with a dramatic change in pace as we observe the fast blurry images of street setting from a moving car. A long camera lens peeks out of the window of a moving car in the first flashback and we hear the sounds of a camera clicking. The lens somewhat emulates the barrel of a gun, imposing a sense of uncertainty about what is happening. Looking out of the same window, we see a number of posters with news headlines, one of them by the *Mail & Guardian* (a liberal newspaper) reads: "Pre-election violence predicted". These posters contextualise the film and the events to follow as taking place in post-apartheid South Africa at the height of the official changes from one regime to another. As the film progresses it becomes clear that the flashbacks are Thandeka's but they are not always shot from her point of view. This is an indication that the trauma that lives in her is also a trauma that lives in others and references Peterson's comments about the flashbacks as

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

dealing with the lack of certainty of traumatic memory. The flashback is finished in all of twelve seconds.

The second PT flashback through to the final one is a variation of Dineo's (Lerato Moloi) death by three security policemen. Dineo's death is as much part of the film as everyone else's attempts to work past trauma. But the recurring PT flashback also exhibits a more pervasive link and comments on being Black and traumatised in South Africa. This is explored through Thandeka's memories of the event of Dineo's death as well as through Dineo's mother, Me'Thau's persistence in working through the trauma by burying her child. The film does not offer many answers. For example, we never properly learn of Dineo's role and the actual reason behind why she was killed. This points to the many others who not only died and 'disappeared' but who died for reasons so banal as simply being Black. We assume we know Dineo's story because it is so familiar in the history of the country and, alongside the testimonies of the TRC, this story is one of many like it. We also have to piece the story together through Thandeka's inconsistent (and untrustworthy) memory. Thandeka's witness of her death sits with her in a way that she cannot process even after apartheid has ended and the nation is officially democratic and unified and collectively working through the past. Often the PT flashbacks end with a close-up of her wide, shocked eyes, as though she herself cannot believe what has happened.

The repeated re-occurrence of Dineo's death and some of the similarities and differences between each PT flashback are emphasised by aspects of the girl, her actions in these final moments of her life and the *mise-en-scène*, for example her clothing is always the same: a white summer top, a knee-length shirt, white trainers and a black beret. Dineo is always running and looking over her shoulder as though

trying to escape. In some of the flashbacks we see the three security police men approach her and in all of the flashbacks we see the white wall against which she is shot, the church from which Dineo and Michael witness the shooting and the grassy area between the wall and the church.

Although we never see the men's faces in the flashbacks, Dineo's face is witnessed only from Thandeka's point of view. This demonstrates that it is not the killers who are prominent in Thandeka's mind but rather Dineo and an unspoken relation and bond between the two women. In all except one of the PT flashbacks, Thandeka witnesses Dineo's death from the small window of an empty church. The recurrence of the place of witness (and repeated trauma for Dineo) as a church, is the film's comment on a contradiction of the TRC: the religious intonation of forgiveness. The presence of the church as the place of witness also implies that Thandeka is not able to find the comfort and peace in forgiveness. Dineo's moment of death is also fractured in the PT flashbacks, again emphasising the uncertainties of memory, truth and trauma. The first time we see Dineo's murder, she is against the white wall with the three men around her. The man in the middle stands directly in front of her and raises a gun to her head. In anticipation of the shot and as her final act of defiance, Dineo gallantly raises her right fist and shouts the African National Congress struggle mantra: "Amandla! Awethu!" which means 'Power to the people'. Her final words are inaudible but can be made out if one is familiar with the meaning of the fist and because of the close-up of her face. In another variation of this PT flashback, Dineo is running in the same dress and black beret but this time with a young man to her right. Captured from behind, they both look over their shoulders as they run. Evidently they are both being followed but only Dineo ends up against the white wall with her fist raised.

Thandeka's daily life shifts and develops throughout the film. When the film begins we are made aware of her strained relationship with her daughter, who is hard of hearing, with her parents, who she feels never fully understood the struggle, with her editor manager, who is white and liberal and dismissive of the effects the struggle had on her. The opening scene of *Zulu Love Letter* is a definite comment on the state of Thandeka's life. The film opens with her passed out in the driver's seat of her car. There is nobody around in the dark basement car park and the only accompanying noise is loud erratic jazz music that overwhelms the soundtrack. The absence of action or even a more traditional establishing shot leads to confusion about who she is and what has happened to her.

The final PT flashback incorporates subtle differences to Dineo's death. There are elements that are familiar from the previous ones but it is only in this final moment that for the first time we get a sense that Thandeka and Dineo were comrades. This PT flashback is also interspersed with a similar mise-en-scène in the real life of the film; for example, Thandeka is driving in her red VW Golf and passing through a road block, having to interact with police, when the PT flashback begins. Similarly to its opening scene, *Zulu Love Letter* does not prescribe what the viewer should believe about the TRC but instead places its emphasis on making the unrepresentable as accessible as possible. The final PT flashback takes place at night whereas previous ones have taken place during the day. Thandeka is driving her red VW Golf, the same car she is found unconscious in in the opening sequence of the film. This time however she is not alone and Dineo is in the passenger seat.

The two women have never been seen together, let alone in the same frame. And until this flashback we have only experienced Dineo's death from the church

window. They exchange something important in this flashback, which opens with the diegetic sound of a police helicopter accompanied by police sirens and a spotlight. This PT flashback is filmed from a bird's eye view, showing what looks like an escape (from what we do not know) as the red VW races along a desolate street. Dineo unexpectedly jumps out of the passenger side of the car when Thandeka comes to a halt. It is unclear why she stops the car, as we never come to know the reason for Dineo's death. No sounds were present in previous flashbacks but in this one Thandeka's calls to Dineo are audible. A close-up of Thandeka's face shows her desperation as she watches the girl sprint away from her. This PT flashback is even more chaotic in its aesthetic composition than the previous ones. It is also even more difficult to make out the *mise-en-scène* that had become familiar from the previous PT flashbacks.

The landmark of the white church building assists in orienting the viewer to where Dineo might be, and also now, serves as a clue because we know Dineo's death is imminent. A large bright spotlight has been trailing Thandeka's car and now follows Dineo as she runs through the deserted area. She is dressed in the same clothing and hat as before and has the same expression but this time, only one of the killers is present. He appears in the frame moments after Dineo trips and falls. His presence is made known only from a low-angle shot as though the point of view is aligned with Dineo, who is on the ground. We only see the bottom of his coat and his shoes and the pistol. Whereas before there were no possibilities for Thandeka to express her guilt about her own survival in relation to the girl's, this time, the PT flashback incorporates another element: a final eyeline match between Dineo and the camera.

There are some possibilities for who the girl could be looking at or towards in this final moment of her life. It could be that Dineo is looking out, at the viewer and holding their gaze in her moment of death. Dineo's pause before death could be asking the viewer not to forget the inhumanity and trauma of apartheid. Or it could be that she holds the killer's gaze, holding apartheid perpetrators accountable for their acts. In the context of the PT flashbacks as they have occurred throughout the film however, it seems most fitting that Dineo holds Thandeka's gaze in this final moment of her life. In a way, the eyeline match acts as a way for Thandeka to accept, and work beyond the trauma that grips her in the present. However, the previous suggestions also seem fitting considerations of Dineo's final moment because of how, for the first time, we experience Dineo before her death.

The choices made in the film make it possible to argue that this final close-up of Dineo is about more than only Thandeka's trauma. Having revisited this trauma with her, we too are complicit to working beyond. Working beyond the trauma of Dineo's death means that Thandeka experiences humanity outside of the trauma that pervades her life. This experience means that working through and forgiveness come to have extensive consequences for feelings and lived possibilities, not locked in rhetoric and significantly representative of 'ubuntu' (although this term is never used in this film).

Thandeka's ability to repair the relationship with her daughter S'mangaliso speaks to the possibility for the traumatised in South Africa to forge new and thus far, only imagined bridges with the new generation who have their own complex relationships to the past and the present. This final short exchange between Thandeka and Dineo indicates something like an acknowledgement of letting go, forgiveness and

moving on. There is new possibility articulated in the close-up of Dineo that is held for slightly longer than usual. *Zulu Love Letter* does not, like other TRC films, place emphasis on an overly exaggerated racialised forgiveness. And thus forgiveness is not at all directed towards the killers, who do not appear in this final moment in the final PT flashback, but at Thandeka. The end of the flashback is of a close-up of Dineo's face as she lies on the grass and still appears to die even though we do not experience her murder in this scene.

The PT flashbacks as experienced in this film expose fragilities within the traumatic context and point to the post-traumatic individual and collective identities of post-apartheid. Cathy Caruth defines posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in relation to the traumatic event as follows: "...an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena".²³⁸ PTSD specifically references the delayed response (which may occur repeatedly) and the uncontrolled repetitions of re-experiencing the trauma, which may lead to various experiences of reality for the person who experiences the flashbacks. Based on how Thandeka is characterised, particularly emphasised through the PT flashbacks, it is possible to identify PTSD in this character. It is also possible to see how other characters in this film and in others discussed in this chapter suffer from the same condition, as they need to make peace with being alive and not dead like so many other comrades. As these films all reference the TRC, I suggest that not only is PTSD applicable to individual characters analysed but to the nation as a collectively traumatised group. About the relationship between trauma or PTSD Caruth writes:

²³⁸ Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 11.

The traumatised, we might say, carry an impossible history within them, or they become themselves the symptom of a history that they cannot entirely possess. Yet, what can it mean that history occurs as a symptom? It is indeed this curious phenomenon that makes trauma or PTSD in its definition, and in the impact it has on the lives of those who live it intimately bound up with a question of truth.²³⁹

²³⁹ Ibid. p. 5.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored representations of the TRC in four films that were released in 2004. The first section paid attention to how *In My Country* and *Red Dust* are mainly representative of a monolithic and mainstream version of the TRC. In these renditions, the outcomes emphasise only the good story of the unification of South Africa after 1994. These films succeed because they reflect and celebrate the terms that promote the new South Africa and rhetoric of the 'Rainbow Nation' and 'ubuntu' through how they recalibrate new South African white identities, particularly through women. I have argued that representations in these films are often too simple and have a didactic tone which is often not geared at local audiences but foreign ones and fundamentally punts the message that everything is 'alright'.

Part Two discussed the films *Zulu Love Letter* and *Forgiveness* to explore how the films represent everyday post-apartheid identities as entangled in very difficult processes of being in the present while still weighed down by the traumas of the past. It is in these films that 'working through', 'acting out' and at some level, grappling with what may be called forgiveness, is pointed to in the analyses. The films discussed in this section also comment on the complexity of new South African identities and understandings of place and space for the characters both as individuals and within a larger post-apartheid national context. Such an understanding of the films already reveals a shift from anti-apartheid films to post-apartheid ones as their emphasis is on ideas and realities that were acknowledged by the TRC but not fully mended by the commission or the rhetoric of 'Rainbow Nation'. These films thus do not offer redemptive endings but begin to articulate questions around how we might think about the post-apartheid era in ways that are less fixed than the categories of

apartheid and less prescriptive than the categories of post-apartheid. *Zulu Love Letter* and *Forgiveness* enact 'ubuntu' whereas *Red Dust* and *In My Country* try to define the word itself. The latter films also intimate that the national accomplishments presented by the TRC assumed wholesale betterment whereas this was not the case. In *Forgiveness* and *Zulu Love Letter*, we are not invited to imagine neat endings and we are certainly not permitted to forget, particularly as the films incorporate images of the socio-economic failures of the new South Africa into their respective mise-en-scènes.

The films in this chapter paved the way for the next wave of post-apartheid films, which are still heavily engrossed in the discourse of apartheid and post-apartheid but are increasingly more critical of the different ways of being that persist after 1994.

CHAPTER 4

SHAME, GUILT AND THE RELEVANCE OF WHITE MEN IN POST-APARTHEID: *DISGRACE* AND *SKOONHEID*

Introduction

We may be on our way to genuine hybridity, multiplicity without (white) hegemony, and it may be where we want to get to – but we aren't there yet, and we won't get there until we see whiteness, see its power, its particularity and limitedness, put it in its place and end its rule. This is why studying whiteness matters.²⁴⁰

I want to ask how white people can *be* and live well in such a land, with such a legacy... What is the morally appropriate reaction to one's situation of privilege?...Perhaps even more than guilt the suggestion that shame might be appropriate cuts very close to the bone.²⁴¹

She lay back and laughed, drawing her skirt up. This was how they liked it, filthy and stinking. He should know that, superintendent of cleanliness and order. The naai maintje (whore) was here. Yes, he should know who and what this place had made of her all these years she had been forgotten.²⁴²

This chapter explores tropes of shame and guilt embodied in white masculinity in two post-apartheid films, *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008) and *Scoonheid* (Oliver Hermanus, 2011). The preceding chapter, with its focus on the TRC, brought to light some of the monolithic representations of whiteness that are present in post-apartheid films. This chapter turns its attention away from the specific context of the TRC and considers representations of shame and guilt in two white male characters, David Lurie (John Malkovich) in *Disgrace* and Francois van Heerden (Deon Lotz) in *Scoonheid*. These films show post-apartheid progress in a different way from the films in the previous chapter which focalised the overt or absent presence of the TRC

²⁴⁰ Richard Dyer, "Whiteness: The Power of Invisibility" in Paula Rothenburg (ed.), *White Privilege: Essential Readings of the Other Side of Racism Second Edition* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2005), p. 12.

²⁴¹ Samantha Vice, "How Do I Live in This Strange Place?", *Journal of Social Philosophy* 41:3 (2010), p. 323; p. 328.

²⁴² Yvette Christianse, *Unconfessed: A Novel* (New York, Other Press, 2006), p. 2.

because, although they take place against the backdrop of post-apartheid South Africa, they are centred on the ordinary lives and identities of the main protagonists. The questions of this chapter are: Do the characters in these films show themselves to feel shame or guilt? Can guilt, as portrayed through violent sexual representations, be seen as a metaphor for change? Is there a connection that the films construct between post-apartheid whiteness and shame?

The first three quotations at the head of this chapter outline the considerations taken into account in this chapter. The first quotation by Richard Dyer forms the basis for thinking about why it matters to engage critically with representations of whiteness. In post-apartheid South Africa, perhaps even more than in the west, which Dyer refers to in his study, whiteness has not gone unconsidered as the primary racial power, but has violently and structurally been constructed as the supreme power on every possible social, political and economic level. This chapter looks at the construction of two white characters and asks whether the films represent versions of dismantlement of that historical power in a South African context. The second quotation is from Samantha Vice's, "How Do I Live In This Strange Place?", with the "I" self-reflexively positioning the scholar's own whiteness and placing other whites in the same "I" position. As a white academic, Vice implores white South Africans to be silent in the face of post-apartheid Black reality in South Africa. The article also suggests to white people that they should accept defeat, let go of apartheid power and embrace shame and guilt.²⁴³ The final introductory quotation incorporates and references generations of 'raced' rape in South Africa, primarily between farmers, slave owners and slaves. This excerpt is about Sila, a free Mozambican who was illegally sold off as a

²⁴³ The article was met with a great deal of criticism. Some of the backlash came from the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper's special issue: <http://mg.co.za/report/on-whiteness> [Accessed 8 May 2013].

slave in South Africa. It is also a narrative about inversion of power as, even though Sila is the slave in the novel, she claims back her power through what Gabeba Baderoon terms “preferred silence”.²⁴⁴

To write about or critique shame in South Africa involves pulling together the divergent strands indicated in the above excerpts that come from different critical, public and cultural places. For example, shame could steer this chapter in the direction of asking who is ashamed of the apartheid past or on the other, the chapter might unpack shame from a different angle, shame towards white and Black racial interactions after a past like South Africa’s. These hypotheses are not only assumptions but are also presented in the films. These possibilities form part of something that is much more pressing, seen in *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid*, which is around the intersections of shame, arousal, interracial and homosexual sex, and loss. In the context of South Africa this loss references apartheid and white masculine power that was inscribed in that system. Gillian Straker’s scholarship about white racial melancholia in the post-apartheid context offers some insight when she writes that this condition, white racial melancholia, is generated by the loss of the ideal of what that group represented and identified with. White racial melancholia thus “implies recognition of one’s relative powerlessness and betrayal by one’s own group of the ideas that one imagined that it embraced”.²⁴⁵

Vice’s article is also an example of white racial melancholia. It is also what I suggest the films in this chapter represent through main protagonists David Lurie in

²⁴⁴ Gabeba Baderoon, “‘This Is Our Speech’: Voice, Body and Poetic Form in Recent South African Writing”, *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* 37:2 (June 2011), p. 214.

²⁴⁵ Gillian Straker, “Unsettling Whiteness”, *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society*, 16: 1 (2011), p. 18. Also see David L. Eng and Shinhee Han, “A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia”, *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 10:4 (2000), pp. 667-700, which Straker references in her article. Their piece is not of direct relevance to the South African example but nevertheless useful in relation to the concept.

Disgrace and Francois Van Heerden in *Skoonheid*, because each film portrays varied realities and sensibilities of post-apartheid white masculinities. The focus and emphasis on white bodies in a post-apartheid context contributes to a critique of shame and guilt and shows a development in narrative from the films discussed in chapter one. But the construction of the characters in the films that this chapter focuses on also set in motion a critique that Dyer invites about whiteness in general, which is to make whiteness something that is also ogled, critiqued, and not deemed as the primary marker of assessment. The image of the white male has altered, as has his power and post-apartheid relevance.

In “Ugly Feelings, Negative Dialects: Reflections on Post-Apartheid Shame”, Rita Barnard puts Vice’s article and Timothy Bewes’ *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* in dialogue by drawing on affect theory.²⁴⁶ Barnard describes Vice’s article as, “in the end, peculiarly apolitical, [. . .] the psychology of shame is more twisted and complex – more tied... to love and desire and to other ugly, comparative, and relational emotions such as envy – than Vice, constrained perhaps by her discipline, can acknowledge”²⁴⁷. A second approach that Barnard uses through affect theory, draws a parallel between Vice’s “public apology and the Australian government’s public apology on behalf of white citizens for their historic treatment of aboriginals and the resultant “sorry” books, parades, and the like...”²⁴⁸. Sarah Ahmed’s work analyses the Australian context in detail, questioning the value of such practices.²⁴⁹ Ahmed writes that, “The question of who is doing the healing and who is being healed is a troubling one... Reconciliation becomes, in this narrative, the reconciliation of indigenous individuals

²⁴⁶ Timothy Bewes, *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011).

²⁴⁷ Rita Barnard, “Ugly Feelings, Negative Dialects: Reflections on Post-apartheid Shame”, *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 13: 1 -2 (Jan-April 2012), p. 154.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 159.

²⁴⁹ Sarah Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

into the white nation, which is now cleansed through its expression of shame”.²⁵⁰ The same question could be asked in the post-apartheid South African context – who is doing the healing and who is being healed through a white acknowledgement and expression of shame about the apartheid past?

Because the topic of whiteness and shame is vast, this chapter homes in on the prominent tropes seen in the films, particularly the ways in which sexual acts are presented through the characters. There appears to be an overreliance, obsession even, with representing shame, guilt and loss in post-apartheid film with the intention to show or acknowledge a shift in post-apartheid racial identities. Films like *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid* bring to the fore new representations of whiteness that were not part of the representational terrain before – defeat of white power, not quite letting go and a vulgar violent defence of it which is not quite holding on either. In these two films, a secondary thread that is never addressed directly by Lurie or Van Heerden, is rape and its historical place in South Africa, and the relationship between white men who raped Black women throughout the period of colonial and apartheid South Africa. Rape is present in both films. The use of homosexual eroticism in *Skoonheid* raises another broad range of questions about the fictional representation of the middle-aged white male body. In particular, the white Afrikaner male body is not only made hyper-visible in this film but is also made ugly in different ways to Lurie’s moral and ethical ‘demise’. In *Skoonheid*, rape represents lost power. In *Disgrace*, rape represents defeat.

Timothy Bewes analyses the novel *Disgrace* as a characterisation of the white male body, making this supposedly historically unmarked body entirely inscribed in

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

shame through the aging white male image and characterisation of David Lurie.²⁵¹ The films in this chapter can be read as attempts at marking white bodies in ways that *make* the bodies shameful, display guilt and problematise whiteness in general, while simultaneously evoking shame for the characters. Bewes locates the “mortification of the white body” as complicit with the postcolonial moment. He writes that “It should not be understood in merely subjective or expressive terms, for the explanation for such bodily shame lies not in the body’s appearance, but in the mere fact of its coming into visibility in the period of decolonisation”.²⁵² Conceived of in this way, shame about the body is about more than that because it extends into the shame or pity rendered towards such bodies, which echoes Ahmed’s question: who is doing the healing and who is being healed? In this way, then, the films bring to light a discomfort with viewing the white (especially male) body.

Disgrace is based on a 1999 novel of the same name by J.M Coetzee, which was globally celebrated with the Man Booker Prize, but was met with much dissent from within South Africa. Rachel Donadio’s *New York Times* article probes questions around Coetzee’s 2002 departure from South Africa to Australia, where he still lives. The article also highlights areas where some of the backlash against *Disgrace* the novel came from: fellow acclaimed South African writers like Chris Van Wyk and Nadine Gordimer and politically, directly from the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC).²⁵³ It thus comes as no surprise that the film could not receive funding from

²⁵¹ Bewes, *Postcolonial Shame*, p. 6.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Rachel Donadio, “Out of South Africa”, *The New York Times*, 16 December 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/16/books/review/Donadio-t.html?fta=y& r=0>. [Accessed 6 December 2015].

within South Africa.²⁵⁴ However, the fact that there the film could not secure South African funding is also suggestive of the kinds of films that the NFVF supports and those that it will not.

Disgrace is thus not a South African film because its funding was Australian. Nevertheless, as set out in the introduction, this thesis's focus is on films that deal with South African narratives, subjectivities and depictions of the shifting identities of post-apartheid. Screen writer Anna-Maria Monticelli suggests that *Disgrace* be categorised as an Australian film for the following reasons:

Coetzee lives in Australia now, and the director and myself are Australian, and all the key crew elements are Australian, and there are quite a few Australian actors in the film. We tried to say to Screen Australia that it's like documentaries. You can have an Australian team and they go to India, you know, and tell a story. And I like the idea that Australians can tell stories that are outside of what we normally do. It's Australian craftsmanship in the end, and I believe our films need to become more international. We are so lucky to have a government that supports the film industry and of course we need to stay nationalistic, but we can get out as well.²⁵⁵

Monticelli's opinion of the film indicates that this is a South African story that is Australian in texture because Coetzee and the creators reside in Australia. This assessment of *Disgrace* is not one that this thesis agrees with. To follow Bewes' arguments about the presence and embodiment of shame in *Disgrace* is to understand that the shame, and white guilt, are not only to be found in the narrative but also in the very material of the novel. In other words, the process of making (whether it be writing the novel or the script) is not only linked to the context but also *marked* by it.

²⁵⁴ Elizabeth Heffelfinger and Laura Wright, "Conclusion: Intercultural Film in 2009: The Year of South Africa and Pandora" in *Visual Difference: Postcolonial Studies and Intercultural Cinema* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011), p. 177.

²⁵⁵ Anna-Maria Monticelli interview with Australian Film Institute called "Adapting Disgrace", 2009, www.afi.org.au/archive [Accessed 1 May 2013].

It is also in this light that I argue that both writers, Coetzee and Monticelli, enact a process of catharsis through *Disgrace*. In the Australian context, itself not devoid of an arduous racial and colonial history, *Disgrace* may be read alongside a film such as *Rabbit Proof Fence* (Phillip Noyce, 2002), which represents the Aboriginal history of that country. I consider the film *Disgrace* as part of a discourse of South African attempts at “sorry” paraphernalia, a term Ahmed applies to the Australian historical context.²⁵⁶ In an interview with *Disgrace* director Steve Jacobs, Nicolas Rapold writes that the director draws parallels between Australia and South Africa as “countries colonised by pioneers”.²⁵⁷

Skoonheid is directed by South African Oliver Hermanus and was co-produced with funding from South Africa, France and Germany. Hermanus is part of a new generation of post-apartheid South African filmmakers, who, with his previous feature film, *Shirley Adams*, also engaged in complex questions and representations of the new South Africa. Relevant to the young Black male characters of Chapter Five, Hermanus’, *Shirley Adams* is about the effect of gang violence in a Black township after a young man is paralysed in a shoot-out. Hermanus has shown a distinct investment in not shying away from the difficulties of the South African past and present. However, these desperate concerns are never overt in the films. According to Hermanus, the main protagonist in *Skoonheid*, Francois, is a symbol of a generation coming out of apartheid. However, Francois never directly references apartheid or post-apartheid in the film. Hermanus remains aware of the impact of South Africa’s history and his own position as a director when he notes the discomfort with which the film was met from the Afrikaner because he, as the director, is not white. In the same interview he

²⁵⁶ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 108.

²⁵⁷ Nicolas Rapold, “Tough Terrain to Document: South Africa”, *New York Times*, 3 September 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/06/movies/06rapo.html?_r=0 [Accessed 8 May 2013].

mentions that there was no outcry about his race when he made Shirley Adams, as the film has Black main protagonists.²⁵⁸ The insinuation is that there is finite meaning to the 'Rainbow Nation' and what is comfortable to do under this participatory guise. It references an inversion from apartheid to post-apartheid, that although a Black director is permitted to make films about white lives, the outcry about his position (and race) also suggests otherwise.

The first part of analysis in this chapter explores whether and how David and Francois are constructed to be shameful or ashamed characters in the respective films *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid*.

²⁵⁸ Oliver Hermanus interview with SBS, 12 June 2012, <http://www.sbs.com.au/films/video/2244869603/Beauty-Oliver-Hermanus> [Accessed 1 May 2013]. Interview with Oliver Hermanus by Dylan Valley for *Africa is a Country*. <http://africasacountry.com/2011/08/05/interview-with-film-director-oliver-hermanus/> [Accessed 1 May 2013].

Guilt and Shame in *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid*

Disgrace

My analysis of *Disgrace* juxtaposes the sexual encounters of David, its central figure, with the rape of his daughter later in the film. My interest here is in the way the filming of the sexual act constructs and analyses the complicated relationship of race and power. *Disgrace* opens with a sex scene between David Lurie (John Malkovich) and a prostitute named Soraya who he sees on a weekly basis. It is an opening that emphasises David's loneliness because she knows things about his life but he knows nothing of hers. The end of that scene also indicates how much he enjoys their weekly sessions. David's sexual encounters in the film are where he is able to pursue his prowess. Soraya exits the narrative of the film after she sees David leave a red box on a counter along with her fee for the afternoon's rendezvous. He soon turns his attention to a student named Melanie who attends his Cape Town University class on Romantic Poetry.

Lurie meets Melanie on campus after she trips and falls as she is going up a few stairs. The camera follows her from behind, showing her bouncy hair in a ponytail and short black skirt before she stumbles over herself. Lurie pauses to watch her get up and after a short exchange invites her to his house for a drink. In a childlike fashion Melanie indicates that she needs to be home by 7.30pm. A strained relationship develops between Melanie and David in which they have sex on two occasions. On both occasions Melanie looks dejected and uninterested in the act, something Lurie should have known based on her half-hearted agreements to see him at all. The first time they see each other again after the drinks at his house is at an upmarket

restaurant with large windows through which diners can watch the ebb and flow of the waves. On this particular day the large waves and grey clouds contribute to the already blustery day. The waves seem to mirror Melanie's mood as she picks at the uneaten food on her place. When Lurie asks her whether she is worried about the two of them, she answers a dejected, "Maybe", without raising her head.

A dramatic opera song takes over on the soundtrack after Lurie assures Melanie that he will not let it go too far. Knowing that he is her lecturer, both Melanie and David are aware of the unequal power relations between them, which lead to a very early sense of disease around him from very early on. The opera music provides the fade out of one scene and into the next, which opens with a close-up shot from one side of a window looking outwards. In the frame are a closed black garden gate, an indication that either someone is coming or that, because the gate is closed, someone is already home. As the camera tilts downwards and after a few moments of complete darkness, it is revealed that it is Melanie and David who are inside his house. As though referencing the closed-in feeling conveyed by the gate moments before, a tilt shot shows Lurie heaving on top of Melanie. The only diegetic sound is Lurie's monotone moaning that accompanies his thrusting. Melanie, eyes closed, faces away from Lurie. Her arms are raised above her head as though an emphasis of how she does not touch him. Her distancing herself from Lurie in this way is also a reminder of the opening sequence in which the camera does a similar close-up survey of Soraya and Lurie's bodies. In that scene, Soraya's dark skin clutching onto David's flesh was emphasised in what we imagine must be feigned enjoyment. In contrast, Melanie's lack of touch conveys that she does not even pretend to enjoy sex with this man.

David becomes more demanding of Melanie, as seen in a few instances which he coerces her into being around him and one in which he comes to her home uninvited and violently cajoles her into sex. The camera captures Melanie's apartment block and Lurie's car in a wide-angle shot while the sex scene takes place inside. The quiet street and apartment block expresses that there is no way to know someone's distress in such a situation. It aids a feeling of disgust for Lurie, who is clearly unwanted. The music on the soundtrack is upbeat and warm and in direct contrast to what unfolds when Melanie opens the door, shocked to see Lurie and with her hands either away from Lurie, so as not to touch him, or trying to push him off her as he presses her against the wall of her entranceway. Her protests do not help as soon afterwards the young woman is naked, standing in front of Lurie who is already (presumably, from his bare chest) naked in bed. In this second instance of Melanie and Lurie sleeping together we do not see the actual act but, shot from behind Lurie's back, we see the scene about to unfold. Lurie watches as the naked Melanie gets into bed, while the camera holds a naked Melanie in a medium shot as she dejectedly contemplates Lurie's enthusiastic presence in her bed. Her face expresses disdain and unhappiness, she is not smiling, she does not even look at Lurie. A few moments pass with the camera holding her in this frame and then, as though in resignation, she sits down on the bed and is again held in a medium shot for a few seconds. She appears to be weighing up her choices but in the end resigns herself and the scene ends as she lifts the blanket to join Lurie. We are reminded of these two sex scenes with Melanie when later in the film David's daughter Lucy calls him 'a man'. After having been raped herself, Lucy implies that her father, as 'a man' must know what it is like to take sex (i.e. to rape). Lurie's own words about his sexual acts with Melanie haunt

throughout the film when he describes them as “not rape, not quite that...but undesired nevertheless”.

Although Lurie admits Melanie’s lack of desire he is never quite degraded to rapist status and his predation is not presented as the same as the three young Black men who rape Lucy. Thus, we are not positioned to see the two acts as the same thing. Further, although Melanie’s facial expression, lacklustre body language and general lack of interest make her feelings about Lurie explicit, the film still sets up Lucy’s rape as indisputable rape and different to the sexual harassment that Lurie is charged with by the University. This analysis is not intended to pit the two rapes against each other but rather to point out the ways in which Lurie is constructed as a white man and to, for now, tangentially point to how the young men rapists are constructed. Lurie’s interiority is a consistent exploration in *Disgrace* and his shame, which appears in glimpses and for fleeting moments indicates an acknowledgement that he, like whites during apartheid, used the hierarchy to abuse power and access of all kinds.

The sex scenes with Melanie also emphasise that David is able to assert himself in this way in sexual pursuits in light of the fact that he has lost power in other spheres of his life. For example, his students ignore him and show him little respect, he is divorced, his daughter is a lesbian, a fact that he speaks of with disdain in the opening scene with Soraya. However, even though this parallel between David and the rapists is intimated, the consistent construction of his character in the film repels such an idea, placing Lurie’s sexual pursuits as somehow above or incapable of rape. More than this, the film comments that Lurie is still better than the Black men.

Drawing on Sarah Projansky's scholarship about rape and representation in film and television, rape narratives can broadly include "representations of rape, attempted rape, threats of rape, implied rape, and sometimes coercive sexuality".²⁵⁹ Projansky emphasises that it is important to "acknowledge commonalities among various forms of sexual violence against women in general".²⁶⁰ In other words, this analysis considers David's acts with Melanie as rape because of the unequal relationship between the two. In *Disgrace*, sex between Lurie and Soraya and Melanie is shown; the viewer is invited to witness David's supremacy in that space where he does not have to be ashamed of the loss of power so desperately exhibited in other spheres of his life. This is in contrast to Lucy's rape, which is an absent presence in the film.

For all Lurie's downfalls the one thing he has left is Lucy and his inability to protect her in her moment of need further confirms his shame-filled nature. Bewes writes about shame in the novel *Disgrace*:

...shame is by definition unnameable, uninstantiable. To invoke it as a principle of one's action, as informing an ethics, would be to turn it too into an abstraction, to remove its corporeal quality, to make it fungible. For the same reason, David throughout *Disgrace* refuses to apologise or express any remorse over his affair with the student; but this intransigence, this shamelessness, speaks not of his lack of shame, but of its fullness, its opacity.²⁶¹

There is also a disjuncture in David's emotions because while on the one hand the overwhelming characterisation is of a disgraced middle-aged white man, on the other, there is the overwhelming issue of guilt that David also embodies. Vice provides an

²⁵⁹ Sarah Projansky, *Watching Rape: Film and Television in Postfeminist Culture*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001,) p. 18.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Bewes, *Postcolonial Shame*, p. 163.

apt description of the relationship between guilt and shame as it pertains to white South Africans, a definition that is useful despite her problematic argument:

...shame differs from guilt in being essentially directed toward the self, rather than outwards toward a harm one brought about. Shame is a response to having fallen below the standards one sets for oneself, whether moral or not. One's very self is implicated in a way that need not be the case with guilt, which is a reaction to what one has *done*, not primarily to who one *is*.²⁶²

David Lurie is ashamed of his acts but shows little remorse and thus little ability to realise his guilt. This is particularly clear in the trial-like scene reminiscent of the TRC, in which a disciplinary committee at the University struggle with Lurie's inability to show remorse even though he admits guilt. Lurie's vehemence about an admission of guilt versus the exhibition of remorse brings up questions around how the TRC dealt with these precise conflicting concerns. A major cornerstone of the TRC's forgiveness was based on perpetrators being able to somehow perform remorse as a way of showing regret for their acts. Lurie refuses to do this.

A camera tilts downwards from the ceiling exposes the scene below: an official-looking setting with a long table for the members of the committee and a single seat for the offender, Lurie. A wide-angle bird's eye view shows that the committee is comprised of seven people. The sound of a door opening indicates David's presence before he enters on screen. The councillors sit with their backs to three large windows through which light surrounds them, portraying them in a saint-like fashion. The image recalls a biblical reference in the depiction of Jesus and his disciples at the Last Supper. The image also however recalls another depiction, which is of Archbishop Desmond Tutu (head of the TRC) surrounded by commissioners who waited to hear testimonies at the TRC hearings. Because of the novel's release in 1999, and critical scholarship and

²⁶² Vice, "How Do I Live in This Strange Place?", p. 328.

commentary about it, the novel (and thus the film) is considered a critique of post-apartheid South Africa.²⁶³ In employing a character like David in this TRC-like set up in this scene, it is not entirely clear whether he is the victim or the perpetrator because when the committee ask for his rendition of the story, he refuses it. In TRC-parlance, 'full disclosure' was the only way to receive amnesty.

The head councillor speaks first and asks David whether he thinks anyone in the committee would be prejudicial towards him. When David replies the camera focuses on him in a medium wide-angle shot, a move away from the objective vantage point that the scene started with. This shot emphasises that the hearing is in session and it is followed by a shot-reverse-shot pattern between David, who is seated with his arms and legs crossed, and the councillors. Despite David Lurie being on trial, the shots move between the councillors and Lurie, which poses the viewer with a challenge to affix subjectivity with one side's point of view. However, for short moments in the scene, the camera captures both David and the councillors from the side, in this way extracting the viewer from the face-to-face shot-reverse-shot pattern. This too is reminiscent of the TRC because it was based on the principle of restorative justice; the intention was thus not to assign blame but rather for amnesty and 'ubuntu' to guide the path to forgiveness. However, unlike the perpetrators of the TRC, who were meant to acknowledge guilt *and* show remorse for their actions, David admits guilt but cannot admit regret for what he has done. Instead, he chooses to describe himself as a victim of Eros, the Greek God of love, distancing himself from his actions and

²⁶³ Among many perspectives about *Disgrace* the novel, the following have been insightful: Caitlin Charos, "States of Shame: South African Writing after Apartheid", *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 10:3 (July 2009), pp. 273 – 304., Sarah Bezan, "Shame as a Structure of Feeling: Rape and Prostituted Women in J. M. Coetzee's 'Disgrace' and Futhi Ntshingila's 'Shameless'", *The Journal of the African Literature Association* 7:1 (2012), pp. 15 – 24., Rita Barnard, "J. M. Coetzee's 'Disgrace' and the South African Pastoral", *Contemporary Literature* 44: 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 199 – 224.

abdicating responsibility. This is also reminiscent of the TRC, as many perpetrators coupled apologies with excuses.

As the intensity of the inquest rises, the camera zooms in to medium close-ups of specific councillors, eventually leading to an exasperated woman councillor losing patience with Lurie when he points out that there is a difference between pleading guilty and admitting you were wrong. The point of view and subjective responses of each of the councillors towards David Lurie's actions is expressed through the individual attention the camera pays by zooming in for close-ups of their faces, a way of showing each one's intricate investment in truth-finding. David is pushed even further by one of the councillors who asks if the statement reflects his sincere feelings. The scene ends abruptly with David's exclamation "that's enough". The scene's abrupt end is emphasised with David racing down a flight of stairs. The camera's focus on his feet as they hastily drum the stairs accentuates the dramatic exit even more. Despite David's position as a perpetrator of sorts, he is not truly placed in the TRC perpetrator position. Because of his refusal to accept shame, he is unable to convince the committee that he should be accepted back in his role purely on an admission of wrongdoing. Consequently, David is not granted proverbial amnesty and so the outcome implies that there is really no place for someone like this within this microcosm of 'The Rainbow' nation.

The inquest and the end of the scene emphasises a number of issues that challenge truth-finding. The first observation is that David performs a role for the committee. While he is ashamed at the fact that he must appear before a disciplinary committee, he is in fact not ashamed of what he did with or to Melanie. This is evident in that he does not read Melanie's report against him, he distances himself from full

responsibility for his actions, and he makes scoffing remarks and smiles sardonically throughout the hearing. Lurie's body language does not change, as he remains in his caged crossed-limb position – a signal of his consistent discomfort with the situation. Nor is he captured in varied shots as the councillors are, an indication that while the viewer is never emphatically prompted to choose a side, the consistent medium shots which show his closed-off body language, more strongly serves judgement and opinion of David than it does of the committee and of Melanie, the clear victim. The scene also invites a question around how easy Lurie thought it would be to get through this. In his position as a white man he would in a previous era have gotten away with anything. Now, sitting in front of a committee, he is judged by a selection of University staff, themselves a reflection of the 'Rainbow Nation'.

The difficulty of the event finally spells out that the University, like the New South Africa, has not got room for the old David. The committee want him to grasp the extent of his act and the need for extensive recalibration of his white masculinity. Through pressing him as they do, they point out an inadequacy of post-apartheid's TRC, that acknowledgement of guilt is not enough. Ahmed notes the relation between shame and pride in the context of nation-building:

National shame can be a mechanism for reconciliation as self-reconciliation, in which the 'wrong' that is committed provides the grounds for claiming a national identity, for restoring a pride that is threatened in the moment of recognition, and then, regained in the capacity to bear witness.²⁶⁴

The examples raised in this section show Lurie's desperate desire to belong in an old way of being that the 'Rainbow Nation' does not accommodate. The trial analysed above further drives home the idea that David's guilt and shame are not

²⁶⁴ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 109.

easily managed or articulated emotions. David's sexuality was his last remaining marker of his own power and white masculinity.

Skoonheid

Skoonheid's main protagonist Francois van Heerden (Deon Lotz) leads a relatively dull life while engaging in sporadic breakaway sexual episodes with other Afrikaner men. *Skoonheid* opens on a warm and celebratory scene of a wedding reception. The diegetic sounds of a well-dressed crowd chatting and greeting each other are audible on the soundtrack as the camera pans the room from right to left. The camera settles on a bride and groom who stand at the doorway greeting their guests. We view the happenings from an as yet unknown point of view as the camera then exits the room and settles on two bridesmaids and a young man chatting and laughing just outside the entrance. The sound of the wedding-goers has been overlaid by slow piano music. The camera zooms in to a medium close-up of the young people chatting. Hermanus discusses the camera choices made for the opening scene of *Skoonheid* as "Hitchcock, using a zoom and a pan at the same time".²⁶⁵ After two girls leave the frame and a young man looks around a little helplessly, the camera cuts to the first image of the main protagonist, a close-up of Francois van Heerden, the character whose point of view we have been privy to from the opening shot. Moments later, Francois and the young man, identified as Christian (Charlie Keegan), are in a medium close-up in the same frame after Christian greets the older man with, "Congratulations, Uncle Francois", a term which is often used as a sign of respect even when the person is not family. The event is Francois' daughter's wedding.

²⁶⁵ Oliver Hermanus interview with SBS, 12 June 2012, <http://www.sbs.com.au/films/video/2244869603/Beauty-Oliver-Hermanus> [Accessed 1 May 2013].

Francois is often framed in close-ups or in medium shots even when the action of the scene is not necessarily intense. Such shot choices reveal a persistent, often unspoken intensity in the main protagonist. Close-ups reveal the wrinkles on his face and constantly put the viewer off-guard through building a sense of familiarity with his cold stare, which is suggestive of something sinister about him that comes off as stern and always in control. Further characterisation of Francois entails information about his successful timber company, his comfortable home, filled with various fleeting depictions and encounters with him and his wife, who he seems estranged from. These traits about the protagonist come to present him primarily as a loner, an impression often further assisted by various scenes in which we see and experience Francois carrying out everyday tasks in confined spaces or alone. He is often in his bakkie, for example. In another scene, a wide angle shot exposes a rather desolate setting in which Francois cleans the family pool. The pool itself is spotless and inviting but there is nobody else there. It is as though he is simply going about the mundane chores knowing that he is not cleaning the pool for anyone in particular. Such moments of confinement and loneliness also reflect Francois' mental state of a sense of being alone with himself and somewhat abandoned and forgotten, as though he no longer matters.

The film is largely set in the historically conservative Afrikaner city of Bloemfontein in the Free State of South Africa. This is an interesting choice and context, particularly because many post-apartheid films are set in what have become known as cosmopolitan urban centres like Johannesburg or Cape Town. Although part of *Skoonheid* takes place in cosmopolitan Cape Town, the film comments on how it is not only geographical place that reflects dated values but that Francois is himself an unassailable physical presence and a constant reminder of the past. Other important

references to the film's construction of Afrikaner culture are shown in the use of stereotypical characterisations, seen for example, in Francois' clothing – the traditional khaki shorts and shirt and the consistent use of Afrikaans throughout the film except in dialogue with Christian. Francois' bakkie is another Afrikaner trait which characterises him in a particular patriarchal way. During apartheid, such Afrikaner men were called 'boers', a reference to their Afrikaans whiteness, which set these seemingly harsher and more racist whites apart from those who spoke English. The choice to create a film about the former apartheid perpetrators was a brave undertaking, and some of the reasons for this have already been pointed to.

Fundamentally, this film employs certain stereotypes about being an Afrikaner man and places such traits in a controversial dialogue with questions about how those who were previously at the top of the hierarchy of power in South Africa are now almost without a place in the 'Rainbow Nation'. *Skoonheid* points out that in some ways men like Francois remain perpetrators despite the TRC and its rhetoric of forgiveness. As a way of developing some of my argument around Francois' confused identity and how he embodies the shame and guilt of the apartheid past I analyse a scene which exposes a secret element of the main protagonist's life.

After buying a packet of cigarettes at a truck stop, van Heerden walks towards his Isuzu bakkie. The clock blinks 12:59 and the camera focuses on it until the time changes to 13:00, when Francois starts the ignition. A point-of-view shot shows a long open stretch of road ahead and looming clouds above. The cuts between van Heerden's point of view of the road and a medium close-up of him signify that he travels quite a distance before he reaches his destination. The mise-en-scène of the destination is a desolate farm with a small farm house and another bakkie in the

frame. A tracking shot indicates that Francois has entered the house and follows the sound of male voices in conversation. He arrives in a kitchen filled with other men who stand around idly making small talk. Francois is welcomed to the party, where everyone already has a beer in hand. Most of the men are dressed similarly in Afrikaner garb – khaki shirts with matching shorts or long pants. This mysterious scene begins to set up something that is still unknown to us.

Henry, the host, proceeds to make introductions. A younger man named Brian steals a shy look at Francois from across the room while Henry keeps up the chatter by checking in with the others about email as a mode of communication. This is a clear indication that this group has met before and that they communicate among each other. A final man, Gideon enters the room. He is a large man, who looks similar to the other men who are already there. As though sticking out as an appendage, is a smaller, young man who is not white. He is short, dark, has curly hair and wears a body-hugging blue t-shirt. On seeing the faces of the men in the kitchen, Gideon quickly instructs the young man to wait in the car. The mood in the room has clearly shifted as the host immediately attacks Gideon with the rules that he has already been told: “Geen moffies en geen kleurlinge” (No faggots and no coloureds). The boundaries of the group are ironically clear and emphasise that only white men are part of this group. Gideon’s decision to bring an ‘other’ into the group disrupts something that they all seek to protect. In addition to the judgement of the ‘moffie’ character, a religious cross conspicuously hangs against the kitchen wall. The unimposing presence of the cross complicates the latent conservatism of the men in the kitchen, and acts as a reminder of the complex relations between apartheid and Afrikanerdom and the Protestant Christian values that endorsed that era. The cross, like the homosexual coloured man, forms part of the *mise-en-scène* to again subtly

reference the unspoken shifts between then (apartheid) and now (post-apartheid). The cross also implies something similar to the relation between the church and witness in *Zulu Love Letter*, commenting on how the religion (and God) offers no solace (anymore). With the TRC's religious overtones through the rhetoric of forgiveness, these Christian symbols in both films offer subtle comments on the inadequacies of the TRC model.

After the awkward kitchen scene the camera cuts to a wide-angle shot of part of the farm. Present in the frame are an outhouse, some shrubs and bushes and a lonely dog milling about. This shot is held for a few moments, inviting a reflective pause after the previous mysterious scene. The opening shot of the next scene is jarring: a high angle medium shot of Brian's head bobbing up and down with Francois' hands on either side of the bed clutching the bedding. Francois' wedding band is vaguely identifiable as his left hand is in the dark. A change in camera angle shows the back of Francois' head; visible in the same frame is pornography on the television. The camera then shows a side angle of Francois and Brian, who is still on his knees. Because the room is dark we see their silhouettes, a suggestion of the unreal element of what we witness. With this opening we are now aware of what the gatherings are for, and the reasons for the awkward interaction in the kitchen becomes clear.

Brian raises his head expectantly after Francois gives the signal that he is now ready for penetrative sex. The camera focuses closely on the pair in a medium shot as Brian positions himself in front of Francois. After having established Brian and Francois as ready, the camera then jumps to another pair of men on a bed opposite Francois and Brian. Another participant passes the camera, an indication that there are more participants. The camera lingers on the second pair in the act of penetrative sex for a

number of moments as an overweight man literally bangs away at his partner. Their full bodies are on display. The camera concentrates on the orgy, conveying a sense that time has slowed down as the shots are held for long periods. The camera's lingering shots in this scene offer a provocation. Instead of thinking of the film under its explicit title 'Beauty', as a statement, it is as though a question mark should follow, so that it instead reads, 'Beauty'?

Because there is no dialogue in the scene, we can only make certain assumptions based on what is present in the space. The sounds convey a sense of enjoyment but, as with the earlier awkward discussion in the kitchen, there is also a sense of something that is unarticulated present in this scene too. The sex is almost violent, as the variety of camera shots and angles emphasise the sounds of skin slamming against skin and the pale, loose fleshy masculine bodies. The men do not look at each other's faces, nor is there much focus on their facial expressions. It is as though they might be repulsed by themselves if they acknowledged the homoerotic nature of their actions. The focus is on full body images, an exhibition of the act of 'fucking', seemingly enjoyable and punitive at the same time. Because the two scenes work together, the first sets up masculine archetypes of apartheid who are, through this special club, able to recreate the fixed conditions of belonging as in apartheid. Significantly, these men were not out of place like the anti-apartheid characters of Chapter Two.

However, the orgy scene destabilises the apartheid boundaries and fixed identities set up in the previous scene. Firstly, the men are naked in the orgy scene, an attestation to their physical and psychological vulnerabilities. Secondly, because they are presented as family men (more than one wears a wedding band), the scene poses

questions around why heterosexual men would want to have homosexual sex. A potential answer comes in a much later articulation by Francois to Christian when, in a drunken reflection on Francois' past, he reflects on having lacked choice because of "family commitments". In that scene Francois expresses a sense of resentment towards the past, in which he had to submit to being an Afrikaner patriarch in distinct ways. Many of those ways meant that he could not fulfil his own dreams such as, for example, becoming a pilot. However, what he was guaranteed in that context was respect, power and a defined identity.

In the actions of this scene, we see each of these men embody and employ a mutually desired power that dissipated for them with the end of apartheid. However twisted, they are able to recreate some of that feeling of power and ownership over another body in their orgies. Thirdly, whatever is destabilised and inarticulate about their post-apartheid identities, can once again be experienced as fixed through the sexual acts in which each can exhibit power and see 'sameness' through control. While there, none of them need to think about how to be outside. Part of the clandestine activity of their meetings is the homogeneous appeal of those in the club and when Gideon brings in an outsider, he invites in the reality (and intrusion) of 'Rainbow Nation' inclusion. This is precisely what they do not want at their gatherings. When Francois loses his temper with Gideon, he conveys a sentiment about a desire to protect what they have. The disagreement exposes Francois' and the group's homophobia and racism, and implies a few things about the men in the kitchen: this club, like apartheid, is for whites only. Although on the outside they need to somehow exist in the new South Africa, in here, they are not beholden to the same reality.

Gideon's desires are quite different because, as Henry points out, it is not the first time that he has brought an unwelcome guest, which indicates that for Gideon, the act of homosexual sex is not about power or self-assertion but about enjoyment; it implies that Gideon may just be a closet gay man of a particular age and culture who never had the opportunity to come out under the constraints of being an Afrikaner man. The choice to include this 'other' portrayed through Gideon emphasises the presence of (and ability to identify) different desires between the one character and the other men in the room. Although they too experience pleasure in the arrangement, the emphasis of their pleasure is not, the film suggests, necessarily in the act of the physical desire for homosexual sex but rather the attraction and thus desire is for power and 'sameness' seen in each other.



[Figure 4.1] Wide-angle shot of yard before orgy scene



[Figure 4.2] After orgy scene shot 1 **[Figure 4.3]** After orgy scene shot 2

The group dynamic of the inarticulate nature of post-apartheid white masculine identities as shown in this scene, is never revisited in quite the same way again in the film. We only experience the further complexities of such characters through the main protagonist. The end of the orgy is also telling, in that after the slow pan and emphatic moments of pause in that scene, we are not shown any of those characters after the act. The scene cuts from the men, still in action, to two similar wide-angle shots to the one that preceded the sex scene. The same yard is still eerily quiet, as though these quiet images that bookend the scene allow a moment to take in what has just been witnessed. The quietness and desolation of the shot after the orgy also suggests how possible it is for this to remain a secret because there is quite simply, nothing to see from outside. Francois's short walk back to his 'bakkie' after the orgy also highlights something else when he rinses out his mouth and spits onto the ground. Francois wishes to wash himself of what just occurred, like a victim after the act of rape. This dissociation with the act that he just willingly participated in adds to the reasons for the group as one in which unspoken and undisclosed matters can be acted on in unconventional ways. This dissociative act on Francois' part also shows that there is nothing sentimental about what has just happened. Followed by his re-entry into the confines of his 'bakkie', it is as though Francois re-enters a closeted and repressed

space after having experienced something that he did not quite dislike but something that he did not quite like either.

Similarly to David, then, when he speaks of sex with Melanie as “not quite rape”, I consider both Francois and David as characters unable to express themselves and their new identities because they do not really know what they are. In both instances, sex is a vehicle of release, some enjoyment and perverted phallic (patriarchal) freedom. I perceive that the act of sex has very little to do with simple enjoyment, and comes to represent something much more layered and complex. In that white men are often denied voice, space, and articulation beyond guilt in the new South Africa, this scene offers a glimpse into the clandestine spaces of repression and the inability to come to terms with the present. Whereas the previous chapter’s films tried to show the coming to terms with the apartheid past, these films emphasise the present from a point of view (white, masculine, middle-aged) that shows us the challenges of characters representative of a residual structure of feeling. The scene is difficult to watch because it is uncomfortable and unexplained. While the film emphasises and, to a degree, legitimises new possibilities for young post-apartheid white characters, it reiterates the cloying impossibilities for the middle aged white men in this scene.

The difference between the different sex scenes that have been analysed in this section are that David has sex with coloured women while Francois has sex with other white men. Francois’ secret men’s group is riddled with shameful silence in a way that both invokes and distances itself from the “preferred silence” that Baderoon proposes in relation to Sila the slave. Baderoon’s term does not apply to white men, however, there is a provocation in a consideration of what “preferred silence” could

mean for the perpetrator – in other words, the preferred silence of the coloniser through racial and sexual melancholia. Gillian Straker's term, 'promiscuous shame', is relevant when she avers that such a post-apartheid condition permits white South Africans to display shame collectively even when they are not sure of what that means, or whether it means anything at all.²⁶⁶ In other words, the sex and its secretive place in each of their lives is read as a metaphor for reality – in the outside world they are one version of themselves which is neat, polite, patriarchal and unquestioningly heterosexual. The orgy scene disrupts that to show us the extent of unnameable feelings of 'promiscuous shame' and the dangerous tipping points of post-apartheid white masculine repression.

²⁶⁶ Straker, "Unsettling Whiteness", p. 14.

Rape in *Disgrace* and *Scoonheid*

The first section of this chapter sets up the two main protagonists in *Disgrace* and *Scoonheid* by making an argument that they embody shame and a loss of power emblematic of middle aged white men in post-apartheid South Africa.

The second part of this chapter focuses specifically on the rape scenes in each film in order to explore questions such as: is it possible to argue that the films use rape as a metaphor for questions around power and defeat? What might be garnered from making a link between middle-aged white masculinity, guilt in post-apartheid and rape? These questions do not only interrogate white guilt but also the representations of white fear of violence by and from (Black) intruders and the inability to truly accept defeat.

Sorcha Gunne writes about representing rape in post-apartheid literature in a way that is fitting to this chapter:

Framed by a political context claiming ‘to reveal is to heal’, what emerges in post-apartheid writing is a preoccupation with the hierarchical dynamics that shape discourses of power and the complexities inherent in speaking about trauma. As such, interrogating sexual violence is fundamental to the fabric of negotiating the past as it exemplifies the moment where the dominating body attempts to write itself onto the body of the dominated.²⁶⁷

Gunne’s argument for sexual violence as part of a negotiation of the past in post-apartheid is evidenced in *Scoonheid* and *Disgrace*. Both Francois and David attempt to inscribe their own bodies onto the bodies that they dominate in sex. At the same time, they perform something more complex to properly identify, and in some ways,

²⁶⁷ Sorcha Gunne, “Questioning Truth and Reconciliation: Writing Rape in Achmat Dangor’s *Bitter Fruit* and Kagiso Lesego Molope’s *Dancing in the Dust*” in Sorcha Gunne and Zoe Brigley Thompson (eds.), *Feminism, Literature and Rape Narratives: Violence and Violation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), p. 165.

words fail, because both these characters also try to, through rape, unsuccessfully, re-embody their previously powerful positions. Through rape they are able to perform power that they cannot perform in the outside world. Both of these men also rape younger characters who are more decisively part of the new South Africa.

The younger characters do not struggle with the same demons as the middle-aged men. The act of power is thus power over the young characters as well as power for the old men. Most of the scholarship about representations of rape is not of direct relevance to this chapter. For example, although post-feminist scholarship has made significant strides in discussions about rape on television and in film, this body of work has also emphatically located itself primarily in western film discourses.²⁶⁸ While some work from postfeminism has been useful, other work has perpetuated more of a decisive break than a link. According to Sarah Projansky, postfeminism is a useful framework for thinking about rape and representation because contemporary popular culture “discursively defines feminism...postfeminism absorbs and transforms aspects of feminism in ways that, at minimum, dissociate feminist concepts from political and social activism”.²⁶⁹ In the context of post-apartheid representations of rape, it would be overly simplistic to assume a post-feminist position. A more encompassing approach is “representational intersectionality” which is a combination of different approaches such as that of Kimberlé Crenshaw.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda R. Silver (eds.), *Rape and Representation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991) and Tanya Horeck, *Public Rape: Representing Violation in Fiction and Film* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

²⁶⁹ Sarah Projansky, *Watching Rape: Film and Television in Postfeminist Culture* (New York and London: New York University Press), p. 66.

²⁷⁰ Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Colour”, *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991), pp. 1241-99.

Drawing on Crenshaw's work is a conceptual acknowledgement more than a basis for thinking about rape in the post-apartheid context.²⁷¹ In addition to earlier references to slave histories of rape, Pumla Gqola's writing on rape as power in contemporary South Africa is particularly enlightening.²⁷² Gqola notes the relationship between war and rape as borne of "...a specific idiom, from the colonial archive. It is a deliberate investment in using sexual violence as part of conquest...".²⁷³ Other scholarship such as work on rape in art cinema has been useful but focuses on rape as a spectacle in avant-garde films rather than a filmic device that could reference a series of issues and events outside of the film as well as in it. In such a construction, rape has been theorised as a post-modern tool in film or as a representational issue to address in film.²⁷⁴

Disgrace

The pinnacle of *Disgrace* is Lucy's rape. We only know it takes place because of the events around it and because of David's torture in that scene. The narrative set up for the rape is David Lurie's decision to leave Cape Town after the inquest. The shift in the setting of the film, from the city to the farm, introduces several new characters, particularly Petrus, Lucy's Black co-proprietor, the young male rapists and the dogs, Lucy's companions.

Lucy and her father have a strange relationship in which she does not really respect much of how he goes about his life and he does not seem to be particularly fond of her lifestyle choices, one of them being her choice to live on a remote farm. The idea that this is a dangerous choice is implicit from David's arrival. The scene

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Pumla Gqola, *Rape: a South African Nightmare* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2015).

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 48.

²⁷⁴ Dominique Russell (ed.), *Rape in Art Cinema* (New York and London: Continuum, 2010).

leading up to the rape is relaxed. David and Lucy take some of the dogs for a walk through the surrounding farmland. On their return to the farmhouse, Lucy and David hear the barking of the dogs that had been left behind. On seeing three young Black men David glances at Lucy and asks her whether they should be nervous. The camera cuts to a close up of one of the young men hissing at and teasing the dogs through the cages.

As Lucy and David approach the boys, Lucy calls for Petrus and then shouts “hamba”, which means “go” or “leave”. The dishevelled boys are dressed in broken t-shirts and boots that are too big for them. They appear shy when confronted by Lucy, only briefly glancing up at her after she begins to ask why they are there. They generally have their heads cast down with eyes lowered, referencing a familiar historical interaction in which power is perceived between a white farmer and Black people who work on farms. Petrus is the personification of the new Black South African in the film and on the farm, and power between him and Lucy, as well as between him and David, is thus displayed in a different register to how power is shown in the scene with the young men.²⁷⁵ The incessant barking sets up tension between Lucy and David as well as between Lucy and the young men.

Through the use of shot-reverse-shots between Lucy and David as a team, and the three young men as another, the reason for their presence becomes known: “an accident... a baby”, one of them says. They need to telephone, indicates one of the three. When Lucy presses them for why they have not gone to a public one they do not answer and continue their coy act. David hovers protectively behind Lucy while he

²⁷⁵ I sometimes use the term ‘boys’ in reference to the young men because of the way that they are infantilised to this status, in line with apartheid descriptions through naming Black men ‘boys’. This is elaborated on in Chapter Five.

holds onto the leash of the golden retriever. Having made up her mind to let one of them into the house to use the telephone, Lucy puts the three dogs that she has been walking in a kennel before standing back and choosing what can only be assumed as the least threatening young man to let in. David tries to interject but Lucy dismisses him and continues towards her house. The interaction from the time that Lucy and David arrive at the kennels is shot in a medium long-shot interspersed with the shot-reverse-shots when Lucy interrogates the three. The use of the long shot however distances the viewer from the unfolding scene as though wanting to shift the viewer into a witness position from the time Lucy and David arrive back at the farm.

Watching from David's point of view we see Lucy fishing the key from under a pot plant and unlocking the door. Once Lucy and one of the young men have entered the house, the camera shifts back to a shot of David nervously watching the remaining two. Their eyes are on the door and as soon as Lucy is inside a drumming sound bursts onto the soundtrack. It matches the change in energy from the boys' sheepish performance moments before to the decisive plan and resultant actions. In the film it is unclear why she chose the young man that she does but in the novel, the reader is given the information that she chooses the most handsome one of the three. As David watches the open door to the house, the fast drum rhythm puts the other two boys into action with one running ahead, whipping up dust as he does so and the other momentarily slowed down by the only dog who remains outside, the golden retriever that David was holding. As the second boy closes the door behind him, the camera zooms in for a close-up of his face and the shot is slowed down to show his expression, a complex fusion of achievement and guile. David manages to enter the house by kicking in the door but his gallant attempts are quickly stopped before he is able to do anything as he is hit on the head, a blow which knocks him out.

A fade to black, a pause and fade-in that shows David coming to, presents an important point: we do not see Lucy in her moment of crisis but instead see and witness David in *his* moment of distress. The music plays an important role in heightening the tension at the outset of the attack. The way the camera frames the two groups on opposite sides of the screen separated by the dogs in the kennels further complicates the already evident racist suggestions made in the film, one being that David is nervous because they look like poor Black boys and so he assumes that they might be dangerous. One of the strengths of *Disgrace* is showing up the inadequacies of conventional morality with reference to right and wrong in a place such as South Africa. Samantha Vice's argument for a relevant moral action of silence for white South Africans seems inadequate because it does not make room for the messiness of post-apartheid as presented in this scene and film. In some ways Vice reinscribes Lucy's point of view about her place in the country, which is around moral action (or inaction): that whites should accept whatever happens to them because of the past. Lucy also expresses as much when she tells David that perhaps this is what it means to live in post-apartheid South Africa. She references her own rape as 'collateral' damage of sorts for choosing to stay. In such a construction, Lucy, and Vice, imply that while there should be a place for whites in South Africa, the terms of staying and belonging cannot be mediated, negotiated or endorsed by whites. While David struggles with that reality, Lucy accepts it in this dire context.

It is unclear to the viewer and to David himself how much time passes before David wakes up in a small green bathroom with only a toilet in it. His body is sprawled out across the screen. He tries to open the door but it is locked. First he whispers Lucy's name, then he begins to shout louder and with desperation. He hears the men outside the small window of the toilet and tries to see what they are doing. Two of

them joke around as they put some stolen goods into the boot of a car. Among the stolen wares is the 'protective' rifle that Lucy referenced when David first arrived. David is left to deal with the failure that already washes over him: he knows that the rape is now over and he knows that he failed to save his daughter. The robbers see Lurie through the small toilet window he looks out of. As one of them picks up the rifle, David, alarmed and shocked, scurries down in an animal like fashion and sits in the small confined space between the wall and the toilet seat. The look of terror on David's face indicates that he believes they will kill him but instead they begin to shoot the dogs in the kennels. Although we do not see the act of shooting the dogs, we again experience violence and torture of others from David's point of view. To this end, we thus hear each gunshot followed by a dog's whimpering of pain.

David himself is also not off the hook – two of the three men open the door to the toilet that he has been confined to. As he tries to escape, screaming "Lucy", the robbers trip him, and then douse him in a flammable liquid. He falls back into the confines of the toilet once more, this time taking in the shock of what they are doing. The sounds coming from David now emulate the sounds of the dogs after they were shot. The camera follows a lit match in slow motion as it travels from one of the grinning young men to its landing place, David's shirt. David's flailing arms and animal-like screams break the slow motion sequence. The slow motion shot ends at the same time as the lit match hits David. Along with David's flailing arms and animal-like screams, the colour and movement of the flames emphasise that he has nowhere to go in the restricted toilet. As with Francois, who is often found in the confines of his 'bakkie', David's imposed confinement here serves as an explicit presentation of an array of emotions that we have not seen in the character. Some of these emotions are desperation, loss and fear. Each of these are expressed in different moments in this

scene, brought to light by these young boys who come to take whatever they want, including his daughter's body.

The scene ends with a shot of an exasperated David on the toilet floor. He is breathing heavily after having managed to put out the flames on his body and head by immersing his head in the toilet bowl. This paused image of David also provides a chance to take in what has just occurred. The moment is broken when Lucy unlocks the door. From David's point of view we watch Lucy walk away from David and the toilet. She is barefoot, dressed in a white robe and her hair is wet, an indication that she has washed herself. The way in which Lucy is portrayed in this brief moment is the only direct access given to Lucy's rape from Lucy. As she is framed in a long shot from David's point of view, not only she but also her home is reestablished. The kitchen is in complete disarray with broken furniture and Lucy's things all over. Lucy herself stands in the midst of it as she pours herself a glass of water. The use of slow motion in the two places it is used in this scene serves to highlight *David's* helplessness, again focalising our attention on him and on the violence of the scene through him.

The description about what happens between Lucy and David's arrival back on the farm until the point when Lucy pours herself water is about an attack on Lucy. However, although the ultimate emphasis is Lucy's rape, the information and how the film chooses to set up the rape is really about David Lurie. This is intentional and highlights the film's investment in Lucy's rape as an event which reveals something about the complexities of post-apartheid identity and belonging. The lack of focus on Lucy in the rape scene places emphasis on the unspeakable. For Lucy, the unspeakable repercussions of the rape and of her emphatic choice not to report it, is a distinct comment on her place as a young white post-apartheid South African. For the 'boys',

as perceived through David's white masculinity, there are no repercussions for bad behaviour because, the film seems to comment, the power of the 'Rainbow Nation' is primarily embodied in post-apartheid Black masculinity. While we are invited to see two versions of post-apartheid Black masculinity, the film comments, once again through David, that both versions are vengeful and crass, representations of violent taking (the rapists) or conspicuous consumption (Petrus).

This scene also emphasises David's inadequacies. He was unable to protect his daughter and her land. His shame and guilt, already present in the character, become even more apparent after the rape scene. David comes to realise that his own (intellectual and philosophical) position of referencing back to the Romantic poets Wordsworth and Byron, and his white imperialist outlook, has no place in post-apartheid.²⁷⁶ The scene and its repercussion also seem to make the pressing issues of identity already alluded to in the film even more apparent and convoluted. When Lucy's farmhouse is first represented in *Disgrace*, it and she are read as metaphors of safe and complementary change in the new South Africa – in other words, Lucy had done everything right to be part of the landscape and she in essence personifies what Vice argues for all white South Africans to be – quiet and appreciative for a little space in South Africa. This shifts after the attack.

A number of other matters arise from the rape scene; most perplexing is Lucy's silence about the rape and her vehemence about staying on the farm after the attack. Lucy continuously refuses to go to Amsterdam to be with her mother, emphatic that there are things that David does not understand. Lucy is caught in the difficult place of accepting the new South Africa to be unequal and unfair but also wanting to remain

²⁷⁶ Margot Beard, "Lessons from the Dead Masters: Wordsworth and Byron in J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*", *English In Africa* 34:1 (May 2007), pp. 59 – 77.

liberal and open, unlike, for example Ettinger, a neighbouring farmer who drives Lucy and David to the police station after the attack. Ettinger, a staunch Afrikaner, comments on the differences between “then” and “now” in reference to how the police won’t protect you anymore, referencing post-apartheid law and order. Lucy’s generational guilt becomes even more apparent in light of the hyper masculinities of Ettinger and David.

This generational separation becomes clearer after the rape scene and is indicative of lost power (seen in the white men) but also, indicative of something as yet unseen: that Lucy is representative of an emergent post-apartheid sensibility. What is troubling is how the film consistently shows Lucy’s position as different and more progressive than her father’s but it affords the young men very little texture; a point discussed more in Chapter Five. This raises some questions around what a post-apartheid emergent sensibility might be. If present, *Disgrace* persists in its reliance on the racial binaries of apartheid to show how white youths are dealing with their post-apartheid identities but offers little positive outcome for Black youths dealing with their new identities. The differences between Lucy and the older white men also points to a residual apartheid structure of feeling. *Disgrace* thus employs a rape scene in a twisted fashion to bring three generations of South Africans into its narrative: David, representative of residual apartheid sensibilities and who cannot quite make sense of his own new place or identity, Lucy, who accepts her white post-apartheid fate, takes on David’s guilt, and who is forced to deal with the repercussion of the rape, and a third generation, mixed in as yet unknowable ways beyond race, a rape baby.

Skoonheid

The rape scene in *Skoonheid* is different to the one in *Disgrace*. In the first instance, sex and rape scenes in *Skoonheid* are explicit acts. *Disgrace* invites a blurry consideration of sex and rape through David's 'coercive' sex with Melanie and Lucy's unseen rape. This is not the case in *Skoonheid*, in which Francois rapes the young man Christian. After making up a lie to go to Cape Town, it becomes obvious, as Francois follows Christian around the city, that Francois has developed an uncontrollable crush. The cool and calm exterior constructed earlier in the film begins to unravel while Francois is in Cape Town. One example of this is when he buys Christian an Apple iPod as a gift, which he intends to give to the young man on a visit to a braai that he has been invited to at Christian's parents' home. On realising that Christian would not be at the braai, Francois makes a hurried excuse for why he cannot stay. In the scenes that precede the rape, Hermanus pieces together a series of Francois' actions that confirm the insidious characteristics seen in him so far. In a scene in which Francois gets drunk in the bars and clubs of the gay district of Cape Town, we see the character react in a similar way as in the earlier orgy scene when a young gay coloured man tries to hit on him. Eventually Francois realises that he will not find what he is looking for in the clubs. The men there are attracted to other men, whereas Francois' desire is different. Francois exits the final club and throws up on the pavement, an act of ambiguous repulsion.

The following scene opens with Francois and Christian sitting side by side in Christian's car. Each of the characters is framed separately, with us first seeing one, then the other. This works as a way of keeping their bodies and identities apart in the scene, and in the larger narrative of the film. The driving scene and the one hereafter, in which the pair sit at a restaurant, serves to further question why Francois is so

obsessed with the young man. Francois' obsession has extended to a belief that not only is he interested in Christian, but that Christian might also be interested in him. What becomes clear in this sequence after Christian has picked up Francois, is that the object of Francois' obsession is not the enjoyment of sex but rather a growing greed around a desire to have what Christian has: youth, possibility, a space in a country that seems to continuously pronounce itself closed to Francois' generation of white men. This form of jealousy is expressed in the restaurant scene when Francois begins to wistfully revisit his own youth and the hopes and desires he had. In the restaurant Francois and Christian are seated opposite each other. The use of either side-angle shots to show them on opposite sides of the frame, or the use of shot-reverse-shots, aids in keeping the two individual characters apart. There is thus no suggestion of them as a unit. However, from Francois' position, his being opposite Christian seems to impart a different meaning, one that the older man takes as a signal for action.

Francois occupies a tricky place not only as a white man but also as himself. This is shown repeatedly in the different versions of his life: one inane, seemingly unfeeling and dark in the domestic space, and one cloistered but active. The way he displays anger and resentment towards his wife and his youngest daughter should not go unnoticed in the context of the rape because it emphasises how the rape is not about sex but an attempt to take back power and almost take what Christian has so as to make his own life seem less pathetic. The rape is about desire for Christian's life, and freedom from the constrictions of his own. This freedom is also displayed through language: the entire film is in Afrikaans except for dialogue with Christian, as though there is a freedom in articulation when around this young man specifically. The younger man is constantly positioned as different to the older men (Francois and

Christian's own father), not only because of the age and natural generational differences but because, in South Africa, his opportunities and possibilities in the reality of post-apartheid are so vehemently different to those of the older men. The use of language in *Skoonheid* is an important way in which the differences between Francois and Christian are apparent.

Francois's uncomfortable usage of a second language also serves to show how he is a recalcitrant apartheid *and* post-apartheid presence because so much of his identity is locked into his language and culture. Hence, in Francois and Christian, a juxtaposition is presented: two seemingly incompatible modalities of post-apartheid Afrikaner identity and structures of feeling: in Francois a residual and conflicted structure of feeling and in Christian, a kind of disavowal of this history. Christian inhabits a different place and is a character suggestive of an emergent sensibility associated with a carefree life unburdened by the apartheid past.

The entire scene that takes place in Francois' hotel room is shot from a witness point of view. Differently to *Disgrace*, the viewer is compelled to watch Francois restrain and overpower his victim. A wide-angle shot shows a standard room with a bed, a television set, a mini bar and a bathroom that both characters enter separately at different times. Francois hurriedly tidies the room during the time that Christian uses the toilet and then sits expectantly on the edge of the bed. Francois is mirrored by his own image emphasised by the vertical lines captured in the wide-angle long shot of the room. This is also a confusing moment in that the viewer is unsure as to why Christian is in the room in the first place. Viewing Francois waiting for Christian from this angle distances the viewer from whatever unexpected action may occur. After

exiting the toilet, Christian casually lights a cigarette and takes a sip of his drink, something that, according to Francois, will “put hair on your chest”.

Francois constantly reminds himself, and us, of the age difference between him and Christian. Building tension, the camera goes between framing the two in silence in medium shots to close-ups of their faces. The close up is especially effective when they sit side by side on the bed as it emphasises the generational gap between the two men and the different expressions they hold: one older and guarded and the other younger and light. It is also indicative of a shift in the mood of the scene. Whereas previously the wide side-angle shot distanced the viewer, the close-ups draw on nervous subjectivity towards each of them. It becomes apparent that Christian’s big question is related to money. Francois is less bruised by the request than by the fact that it is not attached to something more. They remain in the same side-by-side position; however, they are shot in separate frames until Francois asks whether that is all that Christian wanted. It is clear now that Francois has created a fantasy in his own mind. While Christian nervously awaits a reply, Francois’ facial expression changes slightly as he leans in to Christian saying, “Give me a kiss”. Christian nervously swats him away and says, “Stop it, Francois”. Christian remains seated on the bed however, and the next short interlude builds up tension and fear as a tussle ensues between the two men. Francois is heavy set and older and Christian is agile and fit looking and so it does not look like the older man will dominate but he does. In order to assist his position, Francois slams his fist into Christian’s face a few times, which leads to the young man’s face and mouth becoming covered in blood. As Francois sits atop Christian, half leaning on his throat to get his penis into Christian’s mouth, we watch the assault take place from behind (and above) Christian’s head which is on the bed.

We are thus positioned in a place from which it is not possible to look away.

The diegetic noise accompanying the image is a gurgling, strangled sound, brought on by Christian's inability to breathe properly with blood in his mouth and possibly his throat. The camera angles shift during this scene to consistently convey the intensity of the scene: first the pair are shot from against the wall and slightly above the pair, then from behind Francois' back, when he tries to undo Christian's shorts and then again from a high angle above the bed. The high angle point of view echoes the earlier orgy scene in which we are also, like Christian, held captive. The camera angle also emphasises the cold, almost detached power seen in Francois as a perpetrator. The proximity of the camera to Francois on top of Christian jars the viewer in the way it constructs fear and repulsion evoked by and for Francois, as does the awareness that Francois cannot follow through with the rape as he keeps trying to penetrate Christian but cannot and then has to masturbate to arouse himself within the violence.

The rape is not owned by Francois through a point of view shot nor is the viewer invited to experience it only from Christian's point of view as the victim. In a challenging and ambiguous approach, aided by the camera angles used, the scene does not ascribe specific instructions for how to feel for Christian or Francois. After Francois pins Christian down he hits him. Christian's bloodied mouth and choking sounds contrast with Francois' desire-filled heavy breathing and actions to penetrate the younger man. Francois uses a coaxing paternal voice on the one occasion that he speaks with Christian in the scene when he repeats, "come on, take off your pants". In the only dialogue from Christian, the young man begs and repeatedly screams,

“please”. The lack of dialogue in the scene is reminiscent of the orgy scene too, and, like the culmination of that scene, renders Francois as incapable and inarticulate. Just like Francois is unable to articulate his position in the new South Africa, so too, he is unable to communicate his desire. After Francois pulls down the young man’s pants, he also unbuttons his own. Francois then physically lifts and turns Christian’s body so that his backside is exposed. In the earlier orgy scene, Francois also positioned Brian in a similar way and the camera also held that image for a moment. As in that scene, the emphasis is less on the penetration about to take place and instead on Francois in the position of power for the act. This scene reminds us of the power inscribed in the action of Francois controlling a situation like this not once, but on two occasions.

The rape is violent and quick but short-lived for Francois who stops and starts again. It is this point that tells us that although there are similarities between this scene and the orgy, there is also a very clear difference between consensual sex and rape. Although the camera shots do not serve a specific character, the scene is constructed in such a way that it privileges the power positioning: we watch Francois’ actions and we see Christian defeated. Christian continues to lie in the same foetal position even after Francois dismounts him to go to the bathroom. Our final image of the young man is his destroyed facial expression compounded by his still bloodied mouth and exposed bottom. The camera holds this wide side-angle shot for a while, allowing the shock and terror of what has just happened to settle. Christian still does not move even when Francois returns and sits on the edge of the bed. Throughout the scene Francois’ heavy breathing and panting has dominated, only interjected with the bloodied gargling sounds earlier in the rape. Now, towards the end of this scene, with Francois momentarily in the toilet and the raped victim lying on the bed, Christian’s

sobs and gasping breaths become audible.

In a larger socio-cultural context, the rape is considered as a kind of raping away or erasure of Christian's post-apartheid freedoms and the potential promise of his young white identity within the 'Rainbow Nation'. The differences between Christian and Francois further emphasise that Francois' homosexual urges are not about physical pleasure but about self-hate. Francois' earlier expression to Christian of the pressures of responsibilities when he was a young man also exposes the ambiguity he feels about his own somewhat rebellious and wild (but fulfilling) actions. Through the rape Francois also tries to make Christian part of his own guilt and shame. In an attempt to be desired and needed by Christian, Francois also wants to taint the young man with his own irrelevance and baggage. It is as though Francois thinks that Christian's carefree life is too easy and he wishes to somehow strip him of it. The aftermath of the rape scene in *Skoonheid* is a complete, almost inane return to life just as it was before Francois' trip to Cape Town. The return to the familiar image of Francois in the confines of a moving vehicle implies, similar to the aftermath of the orgy scene, a return to a reticent version of normality. As with the characters in the orgy scene, Christian is also never seen in the film again.

The rape scene in *Skoonheid* is a complex construction around Francois' desperation for power that is gone. The rape scene reveals that Francois has, through homosexual sex, found a mode for release; in the orgy scene it is a consensual choice and understanding, whereas with Christian we realise the further problematic depth of Francois' need. Francois deals with a compounded loss of power that was erased by the celebratory rhetoric of the 'Rainbow Nation'. This power is not only ideological

power in terms of apartheid and the stripped relevance of middle-aged white men in that era, but it is also a lack of power that has, perhaps more dangerously, manifested in other spheres of his life. Francois' identity has been rendered obsolete even in a place that has historically been the Afrikaner and patriarchal stronghold: The Free State and his own family home.

The orgy comments that Francois is clearly not alone in this place of isolation, which raises further questions around the relatively unpopular topic of white masculinity in post-apartheid. *Skoonheid* suggests that narratives about the new South Africa cannot only be about the official, manicured and constructed 'Rainbow Nation'. Narratives about the guilty white men seen in this chapter show that films about the new South Africa do not only deal with the present 'Rainbow Nation' as a construct, but that they also grapple with the compounded and fragmented issues of loss, guilt, shame and fear.

The film sets up and explores this constant dichotomy in Francois between family man and closet homosexual, conservative, racist Afrikaner and accepting new South African Afrikaner. The point that *Skoonheid* leaves us with is that Francois and his problematic search for a new identity, is as much part of post-apartheid as are the other stories of apartheid.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored middle-aged white protagonists David Lurie and Francois van Heerden in *Disgrace* and *Skoonheid* through what have been identified as common tropes of shame, guilt and aging corporeality. This chapter concludes that David and Francois are post-apartheid versions of the white liberal and the Afrikaner representative of characters who do not really have a (welcome) place in the 'Rainbow Nation'. In post-apartheid South Africa, they represent those who are paid least attention to, because, in the context of the TRC, men who look like them were the perpetrators. This section has considered how the films have manifested the unspoken about identities of post-apartheid. The films take a particularly sardonic approach to how they construct post-apartheid reality and thus Lurie's, and van Heerden's place in the country. However, there are also very clear choices made around the fact that both characters remain in South Africa and so, although the films relish in the shameful natures of both these seemingly repulsive white men, the films also, in their own ways, offer their own versions of homage to the TRC and the new South Africa. It is impossible not to think of Lucy's rape, and her making sense of it, as heavily steeped in meaning when she verbalises what *Disgrace* comments on as part of an emergent structure of feeling: that perhaps what happened to Lucy is "the price for staying". Or, in Francois' case, to read the immediate return to "normalcy" after both the sex and the rape scene as suggestive of complete psychological separation and alienation from himself and others.

To return then to the introduction, I suggest that the insights of the three introductory quotations are evidenced acutely and latently in the films. In the first instance, this chapter considers that the films are representative of white racial

melancholia in their ambivalence towards change in South Africa. As white men, the former instigators and bearers of apartheid South Africa, Francois and David are indelibly linked to perpetrator status and the forgiven, yet when we see them in these films, the characters are also so problematic that it is hard to imagine them as permitted to be part of the post-apartheid 'Rainbow'. The narrative of rape that appears in both films is an important device for displaying and taking power. More than any other trope in either film, it is through the rapes that the films are able to reveal the complexities of shame, guilt and also apology. Therefore, in the same way that Sila's story of rape and miscegenation hovers in the chapter, I argue that the broader implications of the films are not limited to post-apartheid cinema alone but have far-reaching consequences for how the country makes sense of the trauma of the past. Based on the discussions in this chapter, there is considerably more room for thinking about how trauma manifests in younger generations, and for the characteristics present within a possible emergent structure of feeling.

SECTION 3

The preceding sections of this thesis have traced and analysed tropes in post-apartheid South African cinema. In trying to conceptualise what the new generation of post-apartheid identities might represent, the chapters of this final section of the thesis grapple with two related questions: Can an emergent structure of feeling be identified in post-apartheid films? What are the characteristics of this subjectivity in the context of post-apartheid South Africa? The matter is complex, as Raymond Williams explores in *Marxism and Literature* when he defines structures of feeling as “social experiences *in solution*”.²⁷⁷ A major conceptual foothold of this chapter lies in *where* Williams identifies the solution when he writes:

The effective formations of most actual art relate to already manifest social formations, dominant or residual, and it is primarily to emergent formations (though often in the form of modification or disturbance in older forms) that the structure of feeling, *as solution*, relates.²⁷⁸

Having explored post-apartheid representations of the apartheid past, I follow Williams to consider *where* emergent formations might be found in the context of post-apartheid films. This section focuses on the representations of post-apartheid youth in a selection of films: *Hijack Stories*, *Tsotsi*, *Disgrace*, *Fanie Fourie’s Lobola* and *Elelwani*. The films date from 2001 to 2013 and present an array of post-apartheid youth identities, most notably differentiated through gender, race and class. The approach of this section lies predominantly in its attempt to seek out the presence of a new structure of feeling among post-apartheid youth characters in the films and to

²⁷⁷ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 133 – 134.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

analyse what can be gleaned about post-apartheid from a perspective which is not free of the past but indelibly linked in it.

For example, pressing concerns for the country's youth at this point are at a practical and ideological disjuncture: middle class Black youths and working class Black youths are resistant to the 'Rainbow' ideology and project and have begun to reject and 'act out'. That these active pursuits against residual structures of feeling have been particularly pressing at institutions like universities across the country is revealing of the state of post-apartheid South Africa. The chapters of this section consider how the youth are represented in post-apartheid films in order to draw conclusions about what lies not only beneath 'The Rainbow' (ideological) but also beneath the trauma and sadness of the past (Section Two). Also employing Williams' analytical tools, Premesh Lalu invites a valuable consideration of the concept 'structures of feeling' in relation to the post-apartheid context when he notes that,

...the problem, it seems, is that the end of apartheid is marked as a chronological or juridical event, with 'event' as an operative term. We seem less capable of thinking about the structure of feeling we called the post-apartheid, however inarticulately expressed at the very height of the struggle against apartheid.²⁷⁹

This final section considers the emergent from the point of view of alliances and unions which are heavily steeped in tradition but which have to deal with youthful resistance. Williams' definition of what a structure of feeling is and how it comes to be truly emergent is important when he writes that it is about trying to define "a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically distinct from other

²⁷⁹ Premesh, Lalu, "Considering History, Memory, Citizenry and their Representation within the Arts: Stefen Jonsson and Premesh Lalu in Conversation, Moderated by Tracy Murinik" in Elvira Dyangani Ose (ed.), *A Story within a Story, The Gothenburg International Biennial for Contemporary Art 2015* (Stockholm: Art and Theory Publishing, 2015), pp. 208 – 209.

particular qualities, which gives the sense of a generation or of a period”.²⁸⁰ This new structure of feeling has to do with intricate questions about how the new sense relates to, or is historically distinct from, previous relations between and among “...institutions, formations, and beliefs, and beyond these the changing social and economic relations between and within classes...”.²⁸¹

The youth in this section are representative of different post-apartheid realities. As Sarah Nuttall has explored, this Y-generation is constituted of “those who have attended racially mixed (Model C) schools in the city as well as those who attended exclusively black township schools”.²⁸² These youths are the ‘born-free’ generation, who came into being after apartheid. Although in some ways, as yet, an impossible task, the chapters of this section explore how post-apartheid films use young characters to show post-apartheid development *and* stagnation in the national imaginary. With no group is this more complex and fractured than within Black youth although white youths continue to be represented in noteworthy ways too, such as, for example, Christian in *Skoonheid* and Lucy in *Disgrace*. The idea of “having” in South Africa is an issue of race, gender *and* class.

To draw on Nuttall again is useful when she describes the Y Generation as young people who are able to “... remake the past in very specific ways in the services of the present and the future and how they develop a mode of cultural accessorisation in the making of their contemporary selfhood”.²⁸³ The section thus does not place emphasis on direct memories of apartheid but instead, as Veena Das articulates, explores how the memories are “folded into” on-going relationships and narratives of

²⁸⁰ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 131.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Sarah Nuttall, “Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg”, *Public Culture*, 16:3 (Fall 2004), p. 432.

²⁸³ Ibid.

nation through the quotidian, and how “...everyday life absorbs the traumatic collective violence that creates boundaries between nations and between ethnic and religious groups”.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ Veena Das, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University Of California Press, 2007), p. 8.

CHAPTER FIVE

VIOLENT MASCULINITIES AND YOUNG BLACK MEN

IN POST-APARTHEID FILMS: *HIJACK STORIES*, *TSOTSI*, *DISGRACE*

Introduction

Young Black men occupy a relatively precarious place in South African culture and society. According to a study of the 2009 crime statistics, African black and coloured men were shown to be the most involved in violent crimes and murder.²⁸⁵ These violent trends in South African society have proliferated into post-apartheid popular culture, often a reminder of the deeply embedded racial constructions of apartheid and colonialism. A 2007 advert by one of the channels of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) inverted this dominant reality by replacing whites and Blacks so that whites are shown to live in the townships and Blacks in the white suburbs.²⁸⁶ The advert demands attention. In case viewers did not observe the valuable point of the advert, it also ends on an instructive note: “Take another look, Mzansi”, it encourages, before a flash of the SABC 1 slogan at the time, “Ya Mampela” which means “the real thing”. In the period that the channel used the “Ya Mampela” slogan, it was often followed with a short jingle of, “We are one” and the number one in a circle on the screen. Although such ‘Rainbow Nation’ sloganeering forms part of the official project of ‘post-apartheid-ness’, this advert does not.

In a brief moment in this advert, the young male protagonist, a young white man who lives in Soweto township (also the setting for two of the case studies in this

²⁸⁵ Gavin Silber and Nathan Geffen, “Race, Class and Violent Crime in South Africa: Dispelling the ‘Huntley Thesis’”, *SA Crime Quarterly* 30 (2009), pp. 35 – 43.

<https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/CQ30SILBER.PDF> [Accessed 10 November 2015].

²⁸⁶ Racial perspective advert: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcWsTwvtyOI>. [Accessed 10 November 2015].

chapter) walks down the street and as he approaches a luxury car, the driver, a Black woman, watches him closely as she locks her car door. The advert addresses how often Black men seen at traffic lights are stereotyped as thieves or hijackers. In everyday South African parlance the characters would be inverted; the young man would be Black and the woman in the luxury German car would be white. The inversion is particularly striking in South Africa because it is uncommon to see poor white people en masse (shown in a few large scale shots of the township) and because it is uncommon to see a young white man as someone to fear. The focus of this chapter is around similar concerns as I consider the ways in which young Black men are represented in three post-apartheid films: *Hijack Stories* (Oliver Schmitz, 2001), *Tsotsi* (Gavin Hood, 2005) and *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008).

The research questions of this chapter are: what is the correlation between young Black men and violence in the post-apartheid films? What can be gleaned from a seemingly impenetrable relationship between violence and young Black men? Does this connote a shift from apartheid representations (representative of a potentially emergent structure of feeling) or does this relationship represent problematic stagnation? The films discussed in this chapter portray young Black men in different ways but there are also representational intersections. For example, Tsotsi and the rapists in *Disgrace* are presented as poor and dangerous, however Sox in *Hijack Stories* is not. The gangsters in *Hijack Stories* refer to Sox as “Mr Rainbow Nation”. The films of this section are reminiscent of the gangster genre also seen in films of other countries. The relationship and influence of Hollywood (and within this, African American gangster films) on South African cinema has a long history.²⁸⁷ Films like the

²⁸⁷ Among others, notable contributions come from: Ed Guerrero, “The Black Man on our Screens and the Empty Space in Representation” *Callaloo*, 18:20 (1995), pp. 395 – 400., Ed Guerrero, *Framing*

ones dealt with in this chapter "parallel Hollywood representations of African American men...", notes Adam Haupt.²⁸⁸ Jane Stadler's discussion of *Tsotsi*, *Hijack Stories* and the U.S film *Shaft* (John Singleton, 2000) exposes the intertextuality at play regarding Black masculinity and representations of violence.²⁸⁹ Stadler cautions that although similar, "the relevance to African cultures, where demographics, history, socio-political contexts and patterns of media production and consumption differ substantially has not been ascertained".²⁹⁰ In the context of this thesis, I take this caution and while noting this scholarship, will concentrate on South African Black masculinity. It is also useful to note that there is an overlap in scholarship that applies to *Hijack Stories* and *Tsotsi*, as the films employ similar representations, some of which are discussed in this chapter.

The chapter is interested in interrogating what can be gleaned from the young Black men characters in the films to better examine and understand how they are positioned within the 'Rainbow Nation'. The character of the tsotsi or thug is historically complex. Primary representations of such characters have modelled thug-like characters as either violent and dangerous or dissident with politically suggestive elements.²⁹¹ In the latter, the implication is that the tsotsi is politically astute and aware of his choices to disrupt the rules and fixedness of apartheid. In the first instance, the apolitical tsotsi operates to fulfil personal gain. These tsotsis are dangerous and subversive. In apartheid representations it was easier to ascertain

Blackness: The African American Image in Film (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993)., bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1992).

²⁸⁸ Adam Haupt, *Static: Race and Representation in Post-Apartheid Music, Media and Film* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012), p. 153.

²⁸⁹ Jane Stadler, "Tsotsis, Coconuts and Wiggers: Black Masculinity and Contemporary South African Media" in Adrian Hadland, Eric Louw, Simphiwe Sesanti, Herman Wasserman (eds.), *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), pp. 343 – 363.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 344.

²⁹¹ Rosalind C. Morris, "Style, Tsotsi-style, and Tsotsitaal: The Histories, Aesthetics, and Politics of a South African Figure", *Social Text* 28:2 (2010), pp. 85 – 112.

these categories, however, in post-apartheid representation both these characters are presented in different ways. The young men in the films of this chapter present a new way of thinking about the tsotsi in the context of post-apartheid. In *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories*, we see the resonance of the township gangster and a two-fold argument around self-assertion in the township, or black-on-black violence and a legitimization of crime and masculinity in poor Black spaces.

Of concern to Morris and Stadler's conceptualisations of young Black tsotsis, is the easy dismissal of what could be strategic and radical dissonance, too quickly cast off without interrogation of the complexities that underlie such characters. Although it is not always relevant, I heed the implied warning in the analyses of the chapter. In relation to representations of anti-apartheid struggle, Stadler suggests that cinematic representations of violence among Black men in gangs fulfil a similar function to the erosion of credibility of the anti-apartheid struggle through apartheid media images both in South Africa and abroad.²⁹² In this way, media and film constructions shift the emphasis away from radical opposition to socio-political issues to oversimplify and instruct the gaze imposed on such characters in films.

Stadler further notes that such cinematic representations undermine social criticisms expressed through related sounds, images, articulations attached to the character of the tsotsis such as rap music, as these representations "deflect attention from the social problems that give rise to gangs and drugs".²⁹³ Although the three young men in *Disgrace* are not characterised or ever explicitly labelled as thugs or

²⁹² Stadler, "Tsotsis, Coconuts and Wiggers" in Hadland, Louw, Sesanti, Wasserman (eds.), *South African Media*, p. 345

²⁹³ Ibid., 346.

tsotsis, they are nevertheless also representative of these dangerous black elements in society.

Dovey also explores how the tsotsi is not an apartheid creation but rather a “...street-wise criminal” who operated in South African townships, and particularly from the 1930s in Sophiatown in Johannesburg.²⁹⁴ The tsotsis present in the films of this chapter were selected to explore a range of young Black tsotsis and the scholarship above points to some of the historically inferences in a discussion about dissident Black men. My interest in this chapter however is less in merely showing that young Black men are represented as dissident post-apartheid characters, as in the films *Jerusalema* (Ralph Ziman, 2008) or *Four Corners* (Ian Gabriel, 2014) for example, and lies instead in analysing how the films represent post-apartheid young Black identities.

²⁹⁴ Dovey, *African Film and Literature*, p. 94.

Hijack Stories

Hijack Stories occupies a complex space in time as it was released in 2001, hence before the slew of TRC films that Chapter Three deals with and also before the guilt and shame of the films dealt with in Chapter Four. This film might also appear to be part of the era before and thus seem out of place in this chapter. However, the film's focus on post-apartheid Black masculinity, tsotsis and township gangster culture resonates more with the personae of this chapter, as the main protagonists Sox (Tony Kgoroge) and Bra Zama (Rapulana Seiphemo) embody 'Rainbow Nation' culture in quite extreme ways even though they are both young Black men of the same age. *Hijack Stories* was co-funded by the Deutsche Bank, British Screen through the European co-production fund, and Filmbüro NW. The development of the script was financially supported by the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Directed by Schmitz, who directed *Mapantsula*, this film has also received critical attention, again because of what were gleaned as authentic representations of Black South African experiences. It is also a film often placed in dialogue with other post-apartheid gangster genre films, such as *Jerusalema* and *Tsotsi* and there are overlaps in the scholarship that deals with post-apartheid gangster films.²⁹⁵

One of the main protagonists, Sox, also called variations of 'Mr Rainbow Nation' throughout the film, is a model-C educated 'born-free' as described by the local Soweto gang who he spends the majority of the film 'learning from'. In Stadler's

²⁹⁵ In addition to earlier references, these are relevant to *Hijack Stories* and *Tsotsi*: Albert Fu and Martin J. Murray, "Cinema and the Edgy City: Johannesburg, Carjacking and the Post Metropolis", *African Identities* 5:2 (2007), pp. 279 – 289., Lesly Marx, "At The End of the Rainbow: *Jerusalema* and the South African Gangster Film", *Safundi: The Journal of South African and South American Studies* 11:3 (2010), pp. 261 – 278., David W. De Villiers, "After the Revolution: *Jerusalema* and the Entrepreneurial Present", *South African Theatre Journal* 23 (2009), pp. 8 – 22., Adam Haupt, "Black Masculinity and the Tyranny of Authenticity in South African Popular Culture" in Hadland, Louw, Sesanti, Wasserman (eds.), *South African Media*, pp. 378 – 398., Maingard, "Love, Loss, Memory and Truth" in Peterson and Suleman, *Zulu Love Letter*, pp. 18 – 25.

discussion of the film, she uses the term 'Coconut' to describe Sox, based on other supporting literature around post-apartheid 'new South African' characters. Sox is a well-off young 'Joburger', a continuity presenter on SABC1, the same channel of the national broadcaster which aired the advert discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Sox is also an actor and the narrative commences when Sox auditions for the role of a gangster, 'Bra Biza' in a new television series. Sox is dismissed from the audition as not being authentic enough and thus not convincing as a gangster. Sox is characterised as the perfect incarnation of the 'Rainbow Nation', an identity that has been filled with the full spectrum of opportunities for young Black men like him. He also lives in a nice apartment with his white British girlfriend in Rosebank, a fashionable aspirational area. Sox's lifestyle reflects all the promises and implications of the end of apartheid: prosperity, multiracialism and promise.

However, when Sox is crudely dismissed as a phoney, he internalises the refusal of the part as a judgement of his authentication as a Black man. Although this is not something developed in the film, there is some suspicion and irony around the legitimisation of a Black character by a white casting director. The refusal of the part sets Sox on his way to a return to Soweto, where he wishes to learn how to behave like a tsotsi. But Sox's task, just like the official institutional aspirations of the post-apartheid government, is not so easy to achieve, nor is the goal as uncomplicated as it appears. Sox's gangster friends are led by Bra Zama, often simply called Zama by the other two young men in the squad, Joe and Fly. The word 'ukuzama' is a verb, which means to try in isiZulu and appears a fitting title for the leader of the car thieving and hijacking pack.

It is only when Sox has learned a bit more about the guys in the gang that he reveals an overt political assumption he has had about them. The scene opens as Zama violently drags Sox out of a car. Holding a gun to Sox's head, Zama drags him to one corner of the frame. Sox comes to a cowering position behind an old, broken yellow car. While Zama points a gun at Sox he is also rattling off questions about how one undertakes a car hijacking. It becomes clear that this is not an actual hijacking or attack, but in fact part of Sox's education in becoming a tsotsi. Zama eventually lets him go and the three tsotsis stand against Zama's car watching Sox, who continues to cower in the earlier spot. Sox is impressed with Zama's performance and a shot-reverse-shot sequence proceeds between the set of three (the established team), and Sox, who remains the trainee. The way they are framed as separate units shows that Sox is not one of them. When Sox presses them about where they learned to do what they do, they haughtily answer "boarding school", slang for jail. Mostly though, Zama adds, they have learned from their action heroes in the movies like Bruce Willis and Sylvester Stallone. Sox is amazed because, in his words, he thought they were "radical", implying that he believed they were politically interested and aware of Black politics. Now that they have identified white actors as their action idols (and teachers), Sox feels he can show them something too.

The cowering Sox from moments before has disappeared to reveal the confident young man and familiar TV personality. Sox is curious as to why they do not look up to Black actors like Wesley Snipes, for example. Throughout this scene Sox has felt inferior to the other guys, as he has not got a 'boarding school' education. However now Sox feels empowered because he is confident in talking about the movies and explains that they need to use "nigger psychology", something that can

only be performed and embodied by Black characters. Sox invites the three hijackers to think about this for a moment and then he demonstrates.

Gun in hand and shot from the point of view of the three tsotsis, Sox transforms into an African American gangster, a true incarnation of Wesley Snipes. Sox begins his characterisation by doing a nonchalant dance that the other guys laugh at. While the camera focuses on their dismissive giggling, we can still see some of Sox's dance moves in the reflection of the car before he unexpectedly launches into Zama by pointing the gun up against his face and now speaking in an American accent. The intensity of the moment is heightened by the use of medium close-ups shot either from just behind Sox or Zama. Often these shots are able to expose the expressions of both characters, from which we can see Sox's complete investment in his character, and, surprisingly, a glimmer of fear from Zama. These tight shots also impart the feeling that the other two characters are no longer there, that Sox's performance is real. In Sox's Snipes rendition, he is able to come alive in a role that commands respect from the other tsotsis. He is able to use verbal and body language that Sox would not use but that the character he plays would use. In the opportunity that he has in a sense, afforded himself in this scene, Sox is able to show them something that they do not know. On completion Sox's expression returns to one mixed with expectation and fear, similar to before the short performance. To his surprise, they are very impressed, with Zama even asking that Sox repeats his rendition. Sox does not hesitate and pushes up against Zama's torso again, with the gun just touching his jaw. Sox's facial expression has also changed to exhibit something akin to confidence.

In this scene we see how Schmitz begins to employ the characters of Sox and Zama to show two different kinds of versions of 'Rainbow Nation'. Although this has

been present throughout, Sox has not really been shown to assert himself in this unknown space. Nor have the gang taken Sox very seriously. This scene invites a twist in Sox's characterisation as the gang, and the viewers, become more aware of other versions of Sox. Although Sox has asserted his desires to learn, he has not been prepared for actual practice. In Stadler's discussion of this scene, she argues that in it Sox and Zama learn from *each other* and the film is thus able to comment on "'cultural colonisation'".²⁹⁶ This is a process that continues and becomes more ambiguous as the film progresses because this is more than "cultural colonisation". In his performance of an African American gangster character, Sox also shows that the influence of such a character on his life is on the one hand US cultural colonisation, as Stadler suggests.

On the other hand, Sox's rendition is a performance of self, in that he embodies elements of that gangster culture through having learned from the movies, just like Zama and the others. The argument for colonisation seems fitting if directed at all of them, not from Sox onto Zama. The differences are political in their abilities to see racialised masculinity in one way or another and to apply value to those racialised representations. Only Sox seems to notice these differences and it is in the intricacies of that moment I wish to emphasise the complexity of the lessons for both Sox and the other gang members.

In the beginning of the film much attention is paid to characterising Sox as an archetype of 'Rainbow Nation'. As the film progresses Sox's identity becomes more fragmented. Once the gang starts to accept him, the lessons also become more dangerous and he is no longer a student but also becomes a participant. He is shown to be in a constantly ambiguous discussion with himself, as though a moral debate is

²⁹⁶ Stadler, "Tsotsis, Coconuts and Wiggers" in Hadland, Louw, Sesanti, Wasserman (eds.), *South African Media*, p. 350.

constantly taking place about the fragmentation of his own identity. While we see Sox's ambivalence and unease with criminality (even petty acts, such as pickpocketing, taught to him by Grace, a young woman he becomes romantically involved with), other devices serve to remind us, and Sox, of his identity and reality. One of these is for example the consistent voice of his white agent, Maureen, who is never seen but always phones Sox on his cell phone. Often Maureen's calls come at the most inopportune moments, such as during a violent escape scene. Amidst sirens and gunshots we hear Maureen's upbeat voice encouraging Sox to try for another audition even though he did not get the role of 'Bra Biza'. It is thus not Sox himself but other characters, significantly, women (Grace, Maureen, his girlfriend, Nicky) who remind Sox that he is not really a thug.

However, while the film offers these subtle reminders about Sox's neatly parcelled post-apartheid identity, the more compelling presence in the film is Sox's conscious and unconscious struggle with his own authenticity on different levels of him being a young Black middle-class man in post-apartheid South Africa. When Sox calls Zama and the gang dangerous criminals, Zama retorts by reversing the judgement. According to Zama it is Sox's position in the new South Africa that is criminal, while he and his gang are ordinary guys from Soweto. Zama's point is that Black identity located in the township has a much longer presence than Sox's new 'Rainbow Nation' identity. Zama legitimises township identity and masculinity whereas he dismisses Sox's easy identity as juvenile and, like we see in Sox, inarticulate. Although Zama is confident in the township and in his position, there is also an element of jealousy in his demeanour towards Sox. While Sox wants the believable street credentials that Zama embodies, he also does not fully want to let go of the privileges and safety of his own life. Sox's

unspoken fears and Zama's unspoken jealousy become more prominent through Sox's on-going lessons as the film continues.

After a night of partying and drinking, Sox finds himself in the back of a car with his three tsotsi friends. The two less prominent gangsters sit in front and Sox and Zama sit on the backseat. Sox is comfortable as the guys talk about their experiences but when they decide that they will do some work that night, Sox's attitude changes. Kwaito music overwhelms the soundtrack as the team of four embark on their "shopping list", as Joe terms it. After the swift hijacking of a four-by-four vehicle belonging to a young white couple, we see Sox looking back at the stranded couple and empathising with them instead of celebrating with the team who have just acquired another car. His face, seen through the rear window, is also an expression of terror and fear as this is the first time that they have taken him along. As they begin to take stock of the night's events Sox, still in the same position in the back of the car, begins to thank them and tries to make a quick exit. Because they are all in a stationary car the shots are close-up and intense. Sox's fear is intense as his eyes flit around the car. The guys point out that they only have three cars yet there are four of them. The moment suggests that Sox is now one of them. Although this is what he said he wanted, like the 'Rainbow Nation', this desire too has come with unexpected things.

Sox's first car break-in is a botched attempt that Zama has to help him fix. The scene opens with a moving point of view shot from Sox's perspective as we see the car pass the high walls of the Johannesburg suburbs. After moving through the suburb the camera comes to rest on an old yellow Toyota Corolla parked outside one of the high walls and viewed from inside the VW that the young men are in. After some jeering

and teasing, Zama hands his gun to Sox. Sox's eyebrows are furrowed and he looks frazzled but also knows he has little choice, particularly after Zama advises him that messing this up might mean his own death. Both he and Zama are framed in a medium close-up. It is dark and the music on the soundtrack is suggestive of trouble. The three guys sit in the car and watch Sox approach the vehicle with a long ruler-like object with which he must break the lock. We also watch Sox from their perspective in a wide angle shot. Sox struggles with the action and pushes against the car, which sets off the alarm. On hearing this Zama comes to assist, and at the same time the owner comes out of the house. The owner is a middle-aged white man who approaches the car. Sox and Zama have been cowering so that he will not see them but as he approaches the car Sox jumps out from the hiding place.

With the gun in hand Sox approaches the stunned man, who immediately raises his arms in surrender. Ironically Sox does the same. In a medium shot we see Sox and the owner with the same desperate fear on their faces except that Sox is not in the victim position. As though Sox realises this, he lowers his arms and begins to ask the man for the car keys. The owner is completely taken off guard because Sox asks the owner for the keys, using terms like "Sir" and "please". The owner is completely taken off guard, having expected a more violent approach. Sox repeats himself, again including and emphasising his "please". Having lost patience with Sox's amenable approach to theft, Zama approaches the situation with the intention to sort out this situation. Zama is intimidating and pushes the gun up against the owner's face, similar to Sox's rendition of an African American gangster character. While employing Sox's method, he angrily shouts at Sox that this is the way to do it. Zama instructs the man to lie on the ground before he turns to Sox, telling him that he has now seen his face. Who is Sox's brother asks Zama, the owner or him. The question is more intricate than

the simple choice between Zama and the white man because it implies a range of things that Sox has not been able to deal with himself since he began his new education. In approaching the man in his model C accent with 'Sir' and 'please' and 'thank you', Sox indicates that he does not know how to be a tsotsi. When Zama takes over the situation he instructs the man to give him the keys while threatening his life. He also adds some tsotsi slang in his request. There are differing subjectivities displayed by Zama and Sox, noticeably so in their renditions of active violence.

While Sox has been happy to watch and learn, he was not truly ready or able to actually be a tsotsi. Sox seems to make his decision about which side he is when he fires a shot into the air. Framed in a medium shot we see a different look on Sox's face, one of defiance and vehemence, as he points the gun in the direction of where the man has escaped to and lets off two shots. We are not shown the outcome of those shots. The scene ends as Joe gets in the driver's seat of the yellow Corolla. It is as though the film reverts to putting in power the ones who know what they are doing.

This scene is telling in how quickly things begin to unravel for Sox, as well as what he embodies: the ideal of the 'Rainbow Nation'. *Hijack Stories* places its emphasis on the inscrutable racial and class positions that Sox *thinks* he can embody but which he learns he cannot. The film's use of space and the transitions between township and suburb are as instructive as Sox's lessons about becoming a tsotsi. This is a similar consideration to *Mapantsula*, Schmitz's 1988 film in which Panic's movement achieves to bring an awareness of space, politicising it and making it impossible not to be aware of it. Linked to the considerations of space and place in the film is also the choices around mise-en-scène and markers of the contextual national transformations alongside Sox's transformation. Also present in the scene analysed

above is something that *Mapantsula* is not able to achieve because of the apartheid context of the film. This is the presence of the white characters in positions of fear. In both instances, first the hijacking of the white couple and the theft of the car, we are shown white people in an inferior (albeit violent) position and the young Black men are in a position of power. This is in direct contrast to Panic in *Mapantsula*. The film's ability to employ the racial reversal in this way is an important way through which it is able to capture Sox's transition and almost pose a question, just as Zama did: which side does Sox belong to? And, is belonging to the 'Rainbow Nation' a bad side to be on?

In the midst of a police chase that ensues after the night of hijackings and car thefts, we are offered some answers to the open-ended questions posed by the scene before. For example, a single word, 'Vote', has been spray painted onto a white wall. Next to it is an advert for the forthcoming show with 'Bra Biza', the character Sox wishes to play. 'Bra Biza' has a stern expression and stares directly at Sox and Joe as Joe continues to brag about himself as the 'Michael Schumacher of Soweto'. The advert for a gangster, and the word 'Vote', which implies certain things about a post-apartheid democracy, do not go together. As incongruous terms they reflect the incongruent society of post-apartheid. 'Bra Biza' represents a fictional Zama and as the character called 'Rainbow Nation' throughout, it is fitting that Sox could be equated to the term 'Vote'. But like the characters Zama and Sox, and the terms, 'Rainbow Nation' and 'Vote', the film also seems to have a tongue-in-cheek approach in which it suggests a caution about the promises and packaging of the 'Rainbow'. It suggests that there are no neat congruous endings, not an individual nor at a collective level.

Hijack Stories' concerns with identity and performance in the new South Africa comes full circle in the film's ending. After Sox's final and most dangerous lesson, he is badly injured. The injury lands him in a public hospital where he does not receive adequate treatment. Knowing that Zama has cash, Grace asks him to assist and the two rush Sox to a private hospital, what Zama calls a 'white' hospital. Sox promises Zama anything in exchange for his life. The 'anything' is Sox's identity, which the film gives us brief access to in the final scenes when Zama accesses Sox's apartment to retrieve his identity document. As Zama looks for the document, he also takes in pieces of Sox's life. Visible on the wall for example, is the poster of Wesley Snipes in a frontal medium action shot. Behind Snipes is what looks like sunrays or light from an explosion that illuminates and frames him in a heroic aura. As though keeping Snipes' heroic glow ablaze, the final scene shows Zama having secured the role of 'Bra Biza'. This is Zama's new beginning, his 'Rainbow Nation' coming into being. Zama has a large hoodie over his head so that the casting director does not see that he is not the same person from before. Zama's audition, which we have seen Sox fail at a number of times throughout the film, is a convincing success. As the camera captures a final sneer from almost inside Zama's hood as he takes in the compliments, we are reminded of two things: firstly, that Zama secured this role on his first try because this is not a performance for him, hijacking is what he does. Secondly, we are also reminded of Sox's three attempts at the role and thus the film ends up questioning both young men's authentic post-apartheid identities.



[Figure 5.1] Zama after having landed the role of ‘Bra Biza’

What the ending also proves is that while Zama and his gang teased Sox about being ‘Mr Rainbow Nation’, they were also envious of Sox’s life. The lessons seen throughout the film were not only for Sox but also for Zama. Zama has learned how to perform the ‘Rainbow Nation’ and being awarded this role is his access to what seemed like an unattainable ‘Rainbow’. Zama and Sox were both born in Soweto but only one got out. Zama’s jealousy easily goes unnoticed in light of Sox’s more overwhelming and demanding narrative however, in the culmination of the film, the final close-up of Zama’s devious sneer seems to suggest that it is really Zama’s life that looks more appealing at this point. Stadler notes that “Both Sox and Zama have, like all of us, been playing parts that were scripted for them by the circumstances of their lives...”²⁹⁷

The chapter now turns to the case study of another tsotsi in Soweto in *Tsotsi*. Although there are a number of broad overlaps between the two films, *Hijack Stories*

²⁹⁷ Stadler, “Tsotsis, Coconuts and Wiggers” in Hadland, Louw, Sesanti, Wasserman (eds.), *South African Media*, p. 359.

succeeds in its ability to show and develop two different economic, and racial positions through its main protagonists Zama and Sox. Similarly to *Tsotsi*, it focalises issues of Black masculinity and post-apartheid identity from within and outside of spaces of poverty (township) and affluence (suburbs).

Tsotsi

Tsotsi is a 2005 South Africa/ UK production directed by Gavin Hood. It won the 2006 Academy Award for Best Foreign Language film. Based on the novel by Athol Fugard, Hood adapts *Tsotsi* for a post-apartheid South African context. When Tsotsi (Presley Chweneyagae) hijacks a middle class Black woman only to find out that he also stole a baby, the film's narrative develops to show that humanity trumps his traumatic past. *Tsotsi*, which, as highlighted earlier, has received significant critical attention, was eligible for an Academy Award because of the range of South African languages and dialects it employs such as Sotho, Zulu, 'tsotsi-taal' (gang slang) and English.²⁹⁸

In the opening scene of *Tsotsi*, the diegetic sound of men jeering each other is audible over the action that takes place on a board game. The camera focuses closely on hands as they shake and roll dice against the backdrop of the title sequence. The image is briefly slowed down to show a pair of dice as they land on a table, a strategy that emphasises the dice and the broken table they land on. The impact of the close-ups on hands translates into a sense of dangerous skittishness when, moments later, one of the guys at the table slams the tip of a knife onto the very same 'game' table. A wide-angle shot reveals the mise-en-scène: a cramped makeshift living room, bedroom and kitchen. One of the group members watches the sunset as he stands in the background on what appears to be a balcony. He looks back at the group that have been playing the game. In the wide-angle shot he is behind the group but in the centre of the shot, half turned towards them and half away from them.

²⁹⁸ See footnote number 259.



[Figure 5.2] Tsotsi and his friends in opening scene

The character, who we learn is Tsotsi, the main protagonist, is shot in a medium close-up as he watches his friends. From the outset the implication is that he is in an in-between place because of his backward-facing head and forward facing body. Hood's use of wide-angle shots in this film has been noted as enabling the film to focus on "individual characters and the environment in which they exist..."²⁹⁹ This is also true of the opening scene, in which Tsotsi is seen against a backdrop of an idyllic African sunset as well as against the less than idyllic township where he lives. Such wide-angle shots are incorporated throughout *Tsotsi* to continuously situate the character within a historical context.

Following the opening scene Tsotsi walks out of the door of his shack. Booming kwaito music is introduced on the soundtrack as his three fellow tsotsis make way for him to descend the ramp first, emphasising his role as leader. Rene Smith writes that the film uses kwaito music as, "...a celebration of youth culture...an incredible asset to black South African youth culture [...] as a form of resistance, kwaito thus is an integral part of representation of 'real-life' township experience".³⁰⁰ In another wide-angle shot, Tsotsi is at the centre of the gang as they parade through the township streets.

²⁹⁹ Dovey, *African Film and Literature*, p. 100.

³⁰⁰ Rene Smith, "Yizo Yizo and Essentialism: Representations of Women and Gender-Based Violence in a Drama Series Based on Reality" in Herman Wasserman and Sean Jacobs (eds.), *Shifting Selves: Post-Apartheid Essays on Media, Culture and Identity* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2003), p. 250.

The tsotsis in the film emulate a similar look via dress and other codes conveyed through verbal and body language and employ a vernacular specific to the townships of Joburg. Similar characterisation takes place with the characters of *Hijack Stories*, made particularly prominent as we witness Sox's early transformation.



[Figure 5.3] Tsotsi looking back at his friends while his body remains forward-facing.

It is not only Tsotsi's expression which presents him as cold and heartless but that same night he and his gang go to the Johannesburg train station to find a few people to rob, something that seems a regular pastime. A bungled robbery leads to the unexpected murder of an elderly man on the train. This is clearly not the usual *modus operandi* for the gang and Tsotsi is blamed for what happened when one of his friends angrily and guiltily tells him that he went too far. They were all part of the murder. Tsotsi runs away from the township after this scene. The images of him crossing the Johannesburg mine dumps serve as a fitting backdrop for the inclusion of flashbacks to his childhood. As he runs, with the night sky lit by flashes of lightning,

the image briefly cuts to a younger Tsotsi running along the same path. The purpose of the flashback is to show that this is not the first time that Tsotsi runs away from an incident that has hurt and affected him. The younger Tsotsi runs with tears streaming down his face. The older Tsotsi does not cry but has the same pained expression as the child in the flashback. Tsotsi's running is emblematic of a literal running away from his problems at home, the implication that Tsotsi's hard exterior is, as Stadler notes in the case of *Hijack Stories*, a product of his circumstances.³⁰¹

When he did this as a child, he ran away to life as a street child and then graduated to the thug life. Now, he runs away and finds himself on the tree-lined street of a quiet Johannesburg suburb. In both contexts, Tsotsi's running away does not lead to a better life but to a more complicated and problem-ridden one. As was shown by the choice to murder the old man on the train, Tsotsi exhibits an affinity for similar impulsive actions in the following scene, as though, the film implies, he is still a child or that his trauma has somehow affected his ability to grow up. The awareness of Tsotsi's traumatic past is also critical in shaping how we come to view Tsotsi, not only as a thug but, as the film encourages us to believe in the end, a traumatised young Black man. The film's post-apartheid context is explicit in how it addresses affluence through an example of the post-apartheid Black middle-class, the Dube couple. *Tsotsi's* construction of the predominant identity of young post-apartheid Black men exhibits what Haupt discusses as primary ways of representing young Black men as dangerous and violent.³⁰² This mode of representation is prominent in Tsotsi's

³⁰¹ Stadler, *Tsotsis, Coconuts and Wiggers* in Hadland, Louw, Sesanti, Wasserman (eds.), *South African Media*, p. 359.

³⁰² Haupt, "Black Masculinity and the Tyranny of Authenticity in South African Popular Culture" in Hadland, Louw, Sesanti, Wasserman (eds.), *South African Media*, pp. 378 – 398.

first encounter with the lives of the Dube couple when, after running away from the township, he finds himself in a leafy Joburg suburb.

Tsotsi bewilderedly trudges through the rain along a tree-lined road accompanied only by high walls and security gates. The camera frames his small, darkly clad body from behind and shows Tsotsi in the middle of the street in a wide-angle long shot as the Highveld storm looms around him. As he takes in his surroundings the camera zooms in on his hands as he looks at them, a reminder that he ran away from the shebeen where he had just beaten up his friend. A close-up of his face indicates that he is breathing heavily and he crouches under a tree for shelter from the rain. This image recalls the younger Tsotsi's tear-stained face from the flashback. The use of close-ups of the fragile looking young man is suggestive of a highly ambivalent emotive relationship being set up between Tsotsi and the viewer. In this relationship it is difficult to judge Tsotsi too harshly when his fragile and fragmented interior is exposed. Tsotsi shivers under a tree as he sees the headlights of a car approaching.

Tsotsi's thug instincts and childlike impulsiveness spring into action when, moments later, the seemingly vulnerable 'boy-man' hijacks a well-dressed woman, Pumla Dube (Nambitha Mpumlwana), who drives a BMW M5 (a car which commands respect in the township). Pumla freezes on seeing the gun pointed at her. Although she exits the car on Tsotsi's command she does not run away but instead stays there pleading with Tsotsi. Tsotsi is about to drive away when she opens the passenger door and he shoots her. The frenzy and adrenaline of the hijacking is emphasised in the close-ups of Tsotsi's face and of his hands as they fumble with the unfamiliar automatic gears. He seems as afraid as she is but this does not register because he

also holds a gun. Pumla's pleas are washed out by the sound of the rain and the darkness of the night. Tsotsi does not understand that Pumla does not want to fight him for the car but for her baby, who is on the back seat. The misunderstanding leads to Tsotsi's impulsive act of shooting Pumla. He drives off with the car and only realises the presence of the baby later. In that shot a silhouette of the township is present in the background. We experience this scene from Tsotsi's point of view and even though he shoots Pumla, the film has set up his own situation as quite dire. Hood's choice for the events to unfold as they do is suggestive of how the different male characters are somehow bound together in the film: Tsotsi the boy, Tsotsi the young man and the metaphoric implication attached to Tsotsi as the baby boy on the backseat.

The child becomes a symbol of material wealth and possibility that Tsotsi does not have and did not have growing up. The child represents the innocent embodiment of the rising Black middle class of post-apartheid South Africa and is, at the same time, representative of a proverbial blank canvas for Tsotsi to imagine that he can have this child's future and/ or rework his own childhood trauma through the life ahead that the baby represents. Dovey critiques Hood's *Tsotsi* as a "neoliberal gesture" towards the violence of contemporary South Africa, because of how the film is able to show the vulnerability of a character like Tsotsi in relation to the wealthy couple whose baby is stolen.³⁰³ However, "neo-liberal gesture" seems too simplistic a reading to attribute to *Tsotsi* because of the unspoken racial association between the middle-class Dubes and whites. This analysis also considers how the film invites a reading that is not only about the "neoliberal gesture" that ended apartheid but also about Tsotsi's imagination of being a part of 'The Rainbow' through the metaphor presented by the baby.

³⁰³ Dovey, *African Film and Literature*, p. 108.

The film is thus also about the deep psychological fissures in Tsotsi that allow him to imagine a different life and future if he could, like a baby, have a fresh start. In such a consideration, I suggest that through its representation of young Black post-apartheid masculinity, the film is not entirely clear: on the one hand it suggests post-apartheid middle-class Blackness as precariously, but 'happily' embodied in the Dubes.

On the other, the film suggests that young Black men are not really part of a new post-apartheid sensibility at all as their actions remain reflections of traumatised violence, confusion and childlike actions. When the film does seem to invite a new sensibility is in relation to the baby. To limit *Tsotsi* to the class binary shown in the film means to miss out on what it might imply through the character of the baby. This is particularly evident when Miriam (Terry Pheto), the woman who he asks to mind the baby, asks him what the child's name is. Without her knowing, he names the child David after himself. The name David is not a name that anyone uses for him and connotes a time when Tsotsi's own mother was still alive. To name the child David re-invokes Tsotsi's past when it was still one in which he was a child that was not scarred by trauma and it is this feeling of possibility for baby David that compels him to return to the Dube home to collect some of the child's comforts. What Tsotsi finds there is beyond what he could have imagined.

When Tsotsi enters the child's room the camera focuses on him as he very slowly surveys the space in the room, the colour of the walls, the textures of the wall paintings, the cot that belongs only to the child. One of the walls in the room is painted with an African sunset. This is a child who has more than Tsotsi has as a young man. The opening scene is echoed in this scene as Tsotsi takes in the horizon of the setting sun, except this time, it is a painted sun that the little boy's parents imagine and work

towards, for his brighter future, and not, as in Tsotsi's life, one in which the sun rises and sets of its own accord. The image of the sunset (or sunrise) is thus considered as a recurring image of promise and hope seen throughout the film. This scene shows Tsotsi to be in an almost trance-like state in which he wants to believe two conflicting things, the first being that if he can bring some of the child's material comforts to his own home, then he too can do what these parents do for their child. If only he could give the boy the things of this house, then David can also be his chance at doing better, in other words, Tsotsi's own do-over. This scene is also suggestive of the fact that Tsotsi himself may be able to abandon his current psychological and physical squalor to return to his own childhood so as to re-experience life in the way that David the baby already lives, with comfort and more importantly, the opportunities of the new South Africa.

Because of the dichotomy that is presented between two different kinds of Black realities, the film is able to comment on the differences and the lived experiences of both realities. On the one hand, the film is able to position itself squarely in the new South African through commenting on specifically 'Rainbow Nation' issues. On the other hand however *Tsotsi's* redemptive conclusion could also be viewed as an aggravation on Black-on-Black violence and thus still a compensatory redemption that speaks to whites, not Blacks. For Tsotsi, this complexity would perhaps not have arisen in the same way if the couple and the child were not black like him.

The Dube's affluence is the object of particular spectacle in the scene in which Tsotsi and his gang break into the Dube home. This is also a scene in which the film implies comparisons to whiteness. Although Tsotsi targets that house for the sake of

getting some of the baby's things, his friends think it is just another wealthy suburban home. The scene acts as the first and only opportunity in which the wealthy and the poor come into contact beyond Tsotsi and the helpless baby. The mise-en-scène of the large expensively decorated home is a contrast to the vast terrain of the township and the small houses in it. One of the gang members is tasked with watching over John, who has been restrained. He is interested in why John likes wine, not beer, a comment on John's 'white' tastes as a Black man. The distaste shown for the wine is further emphasised by the many open but not consumed bottles on the table that surround him.

Framed in a high angle shot from John's point of view, Aap (monkey) peruses the contents of the fridge, calling out "...cheese, cold meats, sausages, chicken livers". The focus on this lack of interest in stealing, and the scene's focus instead on eating and John's drinking tastes, further serves to emphasise the class gap between the characters. It is also reminiscent of the relationship between Sox and Zama when the latter asks Sox to choose a side. In that scene Zama refers to a white or Black side, from which we are meant to infer that Zama could fit in with either. The same is implied towards John with regards to the food and drink in his house. It distinguishes him from other Blacks through a suggestion that because he is middle-class he is like a white person.

To elaborate on how the aspect of redemption functions to pull together the different concerns of *Tsotsi* I consider Tsotsi's final 'visit' to the Dube residence in which he returns the baby. The police are already looking for Tsotsi by the time he decides to return the child who, is transported in one of the bags from the Dube's car. As Tsotsi makes his way to the Dube residence, the camera captures him in an out-of-

focus wide- angle approaching shot. Tsotsi only comes into focus when he gets closer to the camera and the destination of the Dube residence. The same trees line the dark street and show his approach. It stormed the first time Tsotsi was there and his dark clothing and black leather jacket presented him as stealthy in the dark of the night and invited a sinister mood. This time however, Tsotsi is dressed in a white shirt and black pants and carries two bags, one on either side of his body: a paper bag that holds the baby and a large leather duffle bag that contains the items he stole for the child when he returned to the Dube residence the second time. Both bags and the light coloured clothing indicate a literal and metaphoric change in the main protagonist. The off-white shirt that he is dressed in conveys a sense of Tsotsi in the light and we associate him with good.

Tsotsi leaves both items in the driveway of the residence and presses the buzzer to alert the couple to the child outside. Tsotsi starts to leave but unexpectedly turns back and hurriedly leans down into the brown paper bag to take one last look at the child. A short shot-reverse-shot sequence ensues between the two to convey a bond they have formed. This short sequence reveres a private moment between Tsotsi and the child as Tsotsi is viewed from a low angle, as though from the child's point of view. The lights and sirens of the police and the spotlight on Tsotsi knock the viewer out of the reverie. Tsotsi might be doing a good thing now but he has also committed many bad acts. Tsotsi lifts David out of the bag when he begins to cry and as the police surround Tsotsi it looks as though he may cry too. The police surround Tsotsi and hold his frightened gaze with their drawn guns. John Dube, the child's father, approaches a stunned and nervous Tsotsi. The camera focuses on Tsotsi's face as tears stream down both cheeks. The tears are a reminder of the young boy who runs away from home, which was shown in a flashback just before Tsotsi stole the

child at the beginning of the film. Tsotsi hugs the now sleeping child tighter to his chest as John approaches him, almost as though the child comforts him, not the other way round.

Even though this encounter between John and Tsotsi is constructed as what could be a private encounter, the blue police lights remain in the frame and serve as a reminder of various onlookers: the police, the child's mother and us, the viewers. The silent communication between John and Tsotsi conveys a number of things: a mutual love for the baby that Tsotsi must hand over, and a sense of recognition in each other's eyes that either of them could have been the other. John Dube is aware of the reality of the majority of Blacks in South Africa and has himself been affected by violent crime. Tsotsi is aware that under different circumstances his own life could have been more of a reflection of the 'Rainbow Nation' that John and his family are part of. The major connection between the two men is quite simple and visceral: they are both young, Black men in South Africa. Despite class, which the film uses to construct a post-apartheid binary between these two characters, the racial history of apartheid is also written into much of the film even though the Dubes are not white. Tsotsi looks at John above the baby's head and John stares back at him, acknowledging their commonalities. The camera frames the two men in a medium shot and for the first time, Hood does not employ the wide-angle shot to include the surrounding area. The eye-line shot conveys a sense that they alone share that moment.

When Tsotsi returns the child to John, his arms remain outstretched as John backs away from him, not by turning his back and walking off but by taking slow steps backwards. The two men continue to hold each other's gaze even after the baby has been handed over to his mother. Pumla is now in a wheelchair, a physical reminder of

the violence that Tsotsi is capable of. The police quickly surround Tsotsi after the baby is returned. The only white character in the film is a Zulu-speaking police officer whose instruction to cuff Tsotsi breaks the reverie of the moment. It is Tsotsi's body language that conveys Tsotsi's emotions in the scene. For example, Tsotsi displays his own protective feelings towards the baby when he hugs the child close to his chest before he hands him over to John. In this moment he releases the child from being his captive but he also releases his own traumatised childhood. John also comes to represent something more to Tsotsi; he is the baby's father but the kindness he shares with Tsotsi is suggestive of a father figure that the young man never had. Tsotsi's outstretched arms also convey the longing for what he never had.

In further consideration of the Dubes: the film utilises them primarily to show their affluence and not, as in the case of Sox in *Hijack Stories*, to show what their own complex struggles with post-apartheid identity might be. The couple thus serve as 'replacement whites' in a way, because, as is shown in *Hijack Stories*, whites still largely populate the suburbs. And, although growing, the post-apartheid Black middle-class remains smaller than the white one. Because the Dubes are Black, the film resists any further critique or characterisation of them beyond their economic status. In a way, it comments that a life like theirs is the aspirational aim of the 'Rainbow Nation'. The redemption of the film thus rests with the Dubes' (Black) ability to forgive, not really in Tsotsi's agency or change. This is different to *Hijack Stories*, which consistently disrupts, problematises *and* hyperbolises the class boundary between Sox and Zama, and the different experiences of being Black that they have. *Hijack Stories* also questions the middle-class 'Rainbow Nation' identity through the overt articulation of the post-apartheid relation between middle-class Blacks, like Sox

(coconuts) and whites. In *Tsotsi* we are meant to deduce a similar conclusion from the robbery scene.

While the film does, as Dovey argues, rely heavily on the idea of “neo-liberal gesture”, this analysis of *Tsotsi* has shown how it includes not one but layered gestures set within a context of change (post-apartheid). *Tsotsi* problematises post-apartheid Black class concerns but does not show how those same class concerns are themselves entangled in apartheid and post-apartheid racial matters. The context of change implied through the ‘Rainbow Nation’ rhetoric is not however congruous with characters like Tsotsi or his fellow thugs and I thus consider that such post-apartheid masculinities are represented as inarticulate and, not truly reflective of an emergent sensibility but rather of something more akin to a pre-emergent sensibility.

Disgrace

The final section of this chapter turns its attention to the three young men rapists in *Disgrace*. The previous chapter considered the issue of the rape in *Disgrace* as something that was constructed mainly from David Lurie's emotional and physical point of view as well. This section briefly considers the construction and implications for the three young Black men who rape Lucy and who are never held accountable for their actions. The film constructs these characters as simple and boy-like, mainly through the lack of characterisation of all three and then later in the film, the emphasis on one of them, Pollux, who is assumed to be mentally unstable. Because the other two young men only appear in the rape scene, the behaviour seen in Pollux (not only a lack of remorse but an inability to register what he has done as wrong) is one way in which the film comments on young Black men in general. As with the low-income protagonists of the two other films discussed in this chapter, these three young men also represent the young Black men of the new South Africa.

In the prelude to the rape scene David and Lucy approach the house after the walk with the dogs (discussed in detail in Chapter Four). The film designates Lucy's body as the primary site of contestation and pain after the rape scene in *Disgrace*. However, this section analyses how the young men are also representative of contested bodies. Their unkempt appearances and bad behaviour already set them up as unreliable and potentially dangerous. For example, they are shown to hiss at the dogs and shout and bang on the cages as though they themselves are animals, not outside of the cages but, like the dogs, also incarcerated. In addition, they are Black and on a farm, a reference to the historical conditions of apartheid in which they

would have been treated as, and called, 'boys'. These are the indicators about their characters before Lucy and David get close enough to talk to them and they convey certain ideas about the young men, particularly that they are not well-off. The look and demeanour of the boys goes hand in hand with David's question to Lucy as they approach the house after the walk: "Should we be nervous"?

Differently to some of the other young Black characters discussed in this chapter, the young men in *Disgrace* are not characters with depth or interiority. They appear only as savage props of sorts and in this way, they are reduced to the kind of representation that limits them from truly participating in the possibilities of the 'Rainbow'. Against the film's presentation of a somewhat sadistic (but hopeful) continuance around the outcome of the rape embodied through Lucy, one of the gang rapists returns to the farm in the second half of the film. Lucy identifies him at the Petrus' party. David confronts Petrus about the boy, demanding to know his name. Petrus, who never mentions the word rape, explains that Pollux is "too young" to understand what happened and to take responsibility for the consequence, the pregnancy and a baby. Lucy too makes excuses for Pollux who she describes as mentally unwell. On the day after Lucy has told David about the pregnancy he takes the only remaining dog for a walk, the same golden retriever he walked on the day of the rape. The scene opens with the arrival of David and the dog at the farmhouse. They are framed similarly to how they were in the rape scene, except this time Lucy and the other dogs are not there. This is a useful re-enactment that recalls that day from the moment Lucy and David arrive back at the farm. It is also useful in that it confirms the importance in the details of them watching the boys at the kennels. David takes in the surroundings and notices something unusual, Pollux, holding on to a windowpane as he peers through the window. It becomes apparent that he is

watching Lucy take a shower, hinting at some potential truth to Lucy's comments about Pollux, that he is not 'right in the head'. This image of the boy suggests that while Pollux might be a 'Peeping Tom' and a pervert, he might not be cunning or clever enough to hatch a plan to rape.

The dog growls and the same fast paced drum music that precedes the rape scene sets in on the soundtrack. This time however, it is David running and kicking up dust to get to the target. David grabs the boy, throws him on the floor and repeatedly kicks him. The dog that attacked Pollux on the day of the rape also attacks him again on this occasion. The boy screams and cries while David shouts profanities at him. The camera captures this in different shots that range between medium shots to show the impact of David kicking the boy, and variations of medium close-ups and close-ups to emphasise David's anger and Pollux's shock and fear. When viewed from above, we witness the assault from David's point of view, which adds to the intensity as David is not only angry that Lucy got raped but he is angry because of the shame that he could not protect her. The assault only ends when Lucy runs out of the house in the same white robe she wore after the rape. She speaks to Pollux in a voice reserved for a child who has been hurt, telling him that they can go wash the wounds. As she straightens up to look down at Pollux her robe opens and except for her panties, she is naked. The camera captures Pollux's face in a medium close-up as he takes in Lucy's naked breasts. Then it moves to David, who stands helplessly behind Lucy.

The boy takes the moment Lucy turns away from him to close her robe, to run off into a nearby patch of cauliflowers. As he kicks the heads of cauliflower, he repeatedly shouts and laughs, "We will kill you!" before running off. Lucy and David stand next to each other and in a long wide-angle shot they take in the situation. They

both look straight ahead of them and not at each other. Lucy breaks the silence by telling David that it cannot go on like this because it was fine before he returned to the farm. This scene confirms much of what is fleetingly set up in the aftermath of the rape scene: that Lucy is the victim, David struggles with his own guilt and the young men are savage rapists. The scene also insinuates that Lucy, not David, has made peace with her place in post-apartheid South Africa as a white person, as though the ordeal is a kind of penance that she must pay for being there.

The disturbing implication of the insistence that Pollux is mentally unstable and too young (both emphasising an incapacity), is that, because he is the only one of the three rapists to return to the narrative, all three young men are necessarily apportioned the same construction. It is also problematic because Pollux is evidently the least sly and was most likely not the mastermind behind the constructed plan, most notably evidenced by the fact that Pollux was the last one to enter the house in the rape scene. With these traits and assumptions applied to all three boys, they collectively represent young Black men as without depth and conscience and as characters who cannot be trusted. Previously discussed character traits seen in Tsotsi are also present in Pollux: untrustworthiness, young impulsiveness, damage. *Disgrace* suggests that a distinct trait of the young Black men is their distinct inability to show understanding, remorse and to know the simple differences between right and wrong. But *Disgrace* also comments on these concerns as something related to Black men specifically, shown to us because of Petrus' reaction and approach to the rape and its aftermath discussed in Chapter Six.

Disgrace offers no interiority to the boys beyond the rape inflicted on Lucy. Nor is Lucy's horrific experience or her feelings about it granted much room either.

The fact that she is a lesbian woman also appears to be dismissed to accommodate the more pressing racial and class matters that take place through a specific kind of masculinity in *Disgrace*. Although we feel shame for Lucy, and also sorry that such a horrific act took place, the film also evokes a sense of anger about why she will not report what happened to her. Even in such an official pursuit of the young men as perpetrators, they would still have identities and characteristics beyond this single act. Lucy's own feelings about the rape come to light in her feelings toward David, partly as her father and partly, as she points out, as a man. In this latter insinuation, Lucy makes a judgement about men, not race, and this point is never taken up in the film beyond her one-off emotive comment on a 'dangerous stretch of road' between the farm and the police station.

Rather, we see Lucy as a mindless martyr pitted against the savage natives. The rape scene and the consequences of it – Lucy's pregnancy- raise complex questions about whether Lucy does the right thing when she chooses silence over reporting the rape, prompting the question about powerful silence that Baderoon invites with regard to Sila in the previous chapter: is Lucy's silence complicit or powerful? *Disgrace's* unfaltering comment about Black men is that they are dangerous, that they take what they want and that even in causing havoc they do not know what they do. Jacobs' *Disgrace* reemphasises the old and problematic tropes of pitting Black against white and showing the complexities but not engaging them.

Conclusion

In their brief linguistic study on common terms used in South African English, Kate Huddlestone and Melanie Fairhurst analyse the meanings and implications of common “pragmatic markers” such as ‘anyway’, ‘okay’ and ‘shame’.³⁰⁴ One of the ways in which terms become “pragmatic markers” is that they change meaning and implication within a given social context. In South Africa for example, the term ‘shame’ is employed in a relatively unique everyday way, often but not always, preceded by the word ‘ag’ (‘oh’), and applicable to a range of situations to reference sympathy, surprise, resignation and other expressions that might not be considered appropriate in another context. My intention is not to employ a divergent methodological approach at this stage but to contextualise a term in the South African lexicon, ‘ag shame’, as an apt note on which to conclude this chapter.

The young Black men characters present an important sector of the ‘Rainbow Nation’: the post-apartheid youth who should be part of, and active participants in the new context, which encompasses promise and hope. However, what is evidenced in the films proves something slightly different: that while these young Black men live in post-apartheid South Africa and occupy the place that is the ‘Rainbow Nation’, they themselves do not really embody an emergent structure of feeling. If, as Williams defines, a new structure of feeling exhibits “a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically distinct from other particular qualities...”, then the young men discussed in this chapter are not a reflection of such distinctive ‘newness’. The films point to the fact that the new South Africa is a place comprised of various incarnations of an emergent disposition. Most notably, these are characterised

³⁰⁴ Kate Huddlestone and Melanie Fairhurst, “The Pragmatic Markers *Anyway, Okay, and Shame*: A South African English Corpus Study”, *Stellenbosch Papers In Linguistics Plus* 42 (2013), pp. 93 – 110.

through a complex new identity that is able to reflect the intricacies of the South African racial past and at the same time, an identity which is able to thrive and develop in the present, and which takes into account various instances of 'newness' in relation to race. An example of this 'newness' is pointed to by the films in this chapter and has been analysed through post-apartheid distinctions of race and class and the emergent 'Black diamonds' and the growing Black middle class. This emergent structure of feeling is distinct from a residual structure of feeling because it is articulate in its complexity and process. The young men of this chapter are however caught somewhere between the past and the present, and thus somewhat reflective of a residual structure of feeling while still being present in the context of an emergent sensibility. For example, even though their context is new, the characters like Tsotsi, Zama, the rapists and even Sox, seem trapped and incapacitated by their pasts. Their violent (and often traumatised) choices justify their masculinities in the context of the township or poverty. In such settings, as each of these films rely on, even though we are aware that the young men live in the new South Africa, they seem burdened by their inescapable pasts.

While the characters of *Disgrace* and *Tsotsi* are not afforded the opportunity at living the 'Rainbow' dreams of better education and opportunity, Sox in *Hijack Stories* is. Yet much of the film relies on the macho emotional and psychological tug of war between Sox and Zama, with Sox's desire still firmly articulated as a will to legitimise his masculinity through proving he can be a township tsotsi. Even though Zama takes Sox's identity, the film still shows that the pull of the township and the respect for masculinity that can be achieved there, far surpasses the promises, and in Sox's case, the realities of 'The Rainbow'. In the context of Tsotsi (*Tsotsi*) and Pollux (*Disgrace*), I conclude that both films end slightly pitifully. In Tsotsi's case we are invited to feel

that the character has redeemed himself and even though he did wrong, he realised his mistake. For Pollux, and what is through his characterisation implied of the other rapists, we also feel pity because the character's being unwell is not of his own accord. He too, is a victim of circumstance.

There is an overall sense that the cumulative feeling (and articulation) for the young men presented in this chapter is describable through a standard South African 'ag shame', which, while watching and waiting for the process to develop into something more, might be applied to something that is not fully discernible or readily articulate. Williams explains that understanding emergent culture as different from the dominant and the residual depends "crucially on finding new forms of adaptations of form".³⁰⁵ Williams argues that, "Again and again what we have to observe is in effect a *pre-emergence*, active and pressing but not yet fully articulated, rather than the evident emergence which could be more confidently named".³⁰⁶

Although the chapter has not paid attention to the young white men presented in films discussed in the thesis, it is notable that these characters are not locked into residual rhetoric or representation. Alongside the analyses of this chapter, I thus conclude that an 'ag shame' application for the young Black men is not only a historically problematic construction but is also one that suggests that Black masculinity, for reasons beyond the scope of this chapter, is somehow unable to recalibrate to participate in the new South Africa beyond the ways in which have been discussed in this chapter.

³⁰⁵ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 126.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

RITUALS, TRADITION AND STEPS FORWARD THE THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA: *FANIE FOURIE'S LOBOLA,* *ELEWANI AND DISGRACE*

Introduction

As set out in the introduction to Section Three, Chapters Five and Six explore whether it is possible to identify a new structure of feeling in representations of youth in post-apartheid films. The previous chapter's analysis of young men proved that although a context representative of an emergent sensibility is present, the young Black men discussed were not representative of such a sensibility in a fully discernible fashion. The chapter thus concludes that the young men are in fact more representative of a pre-emergent sensibility within an emergent context. In order to draw such a conclusion it was necessary to identify what characteristics are implied by an emergent sensibility in the post-apartheid context. To this end, the films have shown that post-apartheid South African is a place that, through the transition, necessarily employed the rhetoric of something 'new', even before it was truly possible to articulate or understand that place.

The films of Chapter Five also pointed to distinct racial and class differences that have become pressing for younger generations and which are intricate elements of what is considered emergent. Lalu's point noted earlier in the thesis is worth reiterating when he references a major challenge of the post-apartheid context as an inability to express the *structure of feeling* of post-apartheid versus what was imagined during anti-apartheid through the implementation and *structure of the system* of post-

apartheid, what has been discussed in the thesis as the ideology (and rhetoric) of 'Rainbow Nation'.³⁰⁷

This final chapter of the thesis addresses the question of how, if it is present, is a new sensibility articulated through young women characters in three post-apartheid films: *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008), *Elelwani* (Ntshavheni wa Luruli, 2012) and *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* (Henk Pretorius, 2013). This chapter differs from previous chapters because it considers representations of unions and local traditions that have not yet been considered in scholarship about post-apartheid films. This chapter considers negotiations with traditional 'love' unions as productive outcomes of post-apartheid, showing how the new generation navigates some of the legacies of the past. If post-apartheid itself is considered a 'new union', then this chapter asks how the terms of the new union are expressed in other forms when they are not overtly about the politics of nation, but about other kinds of representations, such as heterosexual love.

I discuss three films, one of which, *Disgrace* (Steve Jacobs, 2008), has already been discussed earlier in the thesis, and all of which engage with the past in different ways. *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* (Henk Pretorius, 2013) is a romantic comedy that follows the standard conventions of this genre but which is made local by its mixed language dialogue of English, Afrikaans and isiZulu. *Elelwani* (Ntshavheni wa Luruli, 2012) is the first full length Tshivenda language film. It starts out as a drama but develops to incorporate elements of magical realism in line with Tshivenda culture, which the analysis does not incorporate. Both these locally produced films have not received significant attention in scholarship about post-apartheid cinema and thus this chapter attempts to incorporate them into the discussion about the new South Africa on film.

³⁰⁷ Lalu, "Considering History" in Dyangani Ose, *Story Within*, p. 207.

With regards to *Disgrace* in this chapter, I analyse the unlikely union between Lucy and Petrus. Although there is no mention of the term lobola (bride price), nor are Lucy and Petrus in a heterosexual relationship, the analysis of this chapter identifies a negotiated union on the basis of inclusion and the terms of Lucy's white future. This chapter's interest is in a consideration of a new structure of feeling and the possibilities that occur after 'acting out' and 'working through' the trauma as identified in Section Two. It asks instead, what does 'working beyond' the trauma of apartheid films look like in post-apartheid films? Hence, the second aim of the chapter is to consider whether a new structure of feeling, if present, could be considered as a productive outcome of the TRC.

In *Elelwani* I consider the ritual of fetching the bride-to-be, Elelwani, an adult woman from her rural family home in Limpopo, through an exploration of the tenuous relationship between rural life in Limpopo and Elelwani's urban modern life (and agency). In *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* I show how Fanie and Dinky's interracial love sits so uncomfortably with their families that the film is as much about the couple as a successful part of the 'Rainbow Nation', as it is about the failures of the 'Rainbow Nation'. The film relies on stereotypes to show the awkward realities of the legacies of apartheid. I focus specifically on the representation of the ritual of lobola in this film and its altered meaning in this re-racialised framework.

This chapter, as with the previous one, considers the possibility of a new structure of feeling of post-apartheid South Africa in two ways; firstly through a consideration of who the emergent generation is comprised of and secondly, through addressing emerging class distinctions represented in the films. These class distinctions, as discussed in the analysis of *Tsotsi*, highlight a growing complexity in

South Africa between what was according to apartheid neatly delineated according to race, and post-apartheid access to education and material consumption. In other words, although there was indeed a Black middle class during apartheid it was small, now however, the growing Black middle class presents new iterations of nation and belonging. This chapter seeks to further explore the overlapping representations with regard to race and class present in the films.

Some of the research questions that ground this chapter are: What does it mean when the ritual of lobola is conducted by a white man who wants to marry a Black Zulu girl? How does such a previously unimagined practice affect the kinds of possibilities for moving forward? What does it mean when, in a film like *Elelwani*, the main protagonist only gives in to her parents' wishes after she realises that if she does not, they will send her sister to marry the Venda king? This kind of resistance towards tradition means that the experience of being a young woman in South Africa has changed and even though tradition is in place, young people are changing how those traditions are engaged with. Finally, this chapter asks if Lucy's place in the new South Africa is legitimised because of the mixed-race rape baby she carries.

Lizelle Bischoff notes that, "The use of comedy and humour in recent South African films hints at the possibility that a genre is also developing that does not necessarily deal with post-apartheid issues in a dramatic way..."³⁰⁸ This point is true in the case of the rom-com, *Fanie Fourie's Lobola (Lobola)*. However, no scholarship exists about films like *Elelwani*, which incorporates magical realism and African mythical elements. This genre is different to the growing trend in local Afro-science fiction films such as Neill Blomkamp's *District 9* (2009) and *Chappie* (2015), which are

³⁰⁸ Lizelle Bischoff, "Sub-Saharan African Cinema in the Context of Fespaco: Close-ups of Francophone West Africa and Anglophone South Africa", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45:4 (2009), p. 451.

not dealt with in this thesis. Both *Lobola* and *Elelwani* are directed by South Africans and were locally produced and funded, which also makes these films exceptional. It took nine years for *Elelwani* to be completed because of budget constraints. Both *Elelwani* and *Lobola* were made on a small budget, with *Lobola's* budget approximately \$1,000,000 compared, for example, to Justin Chadwick's *Mandela: Long Walk To Freedom*, which was also released in 2013 and had a budget of \$35,000,000.

Fanie Fourie's Lobola: Negotiating New Traditions

Lobola, or bride price, is a traditional African custom in which the groom offers gifts, cattle or, more recently, to accommodate urban lifestyles, money, to the parents of the bride.³⁰⁹ Historically, the custom takes place over a period of time and involves an innate knowledge on the part of both families of how the ritual is constituted and what the appropriate approach is to completing it in the most respectful fashion. Meghan Healy-Clancy writes about the politics of marriage among the New Africans in an article in which she quotes Miss Rahab S. Petje's women's 1944 column in the Bantu World newspaper.³¹⁰ As noted by Healy-Clancy,

Before the coming of colonial capitalism in southern Africa, marriage had been the foundation of an economy premised on homestead-based agricultural production and pastoralism: it was far from a private or individualistic institution. It was through marriage gifts of cattle – known variously as lobolo, lobola, bohali, or bogadi (bridewealth) – that men brought wives into their new homesteads, and it was through women's labours as mothers and agricultural workers that these homesteads survived...³¹¹

Petje's column asks, "Why (do) we modern girls find it so very difficult to get married...?"³¹² She blames "barbarism and backwardness in our parents, and worse still, segregation", arguing for interethnic pairings between educated young women

³⁰⁹ Nicola Ansell, "'Because It's Our Culture!' (Re)negotiating the meaning of 'lobola' in Southern African Secondary Schools", *Journal Of Southern African Studies* 27:4 (December 2001), pp. 697 – 716.

³¹⁰ Meghan Healy-Clancy, "The Politics of New African Marriage in Segregationist South Africa", *African Studies Review: The Politics of Marriage in South Africa* 57:2 (2014), pp. 7 – 28. *The Bantu World* newspaper was started in 1932 and was the first newspaper for black South Africans that also included pages for women. There is an extensive body of scholarship about lobola that is not of direct relevance to the aims of this chapter but noteworthy to the brief introductory discussion about lobola is the following: Lynn M. Thomas, "Love, Sex and the Modern Girl in 1930s Southern Africa" in Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas (eds.), *Love in Africa* (Chicago and London: The University Of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 31 – 57., Les Switzer, "Bantu World and the Origins of a Captive African Commercial Press in South Africa" in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14:3 (1988), pp. 351 – 370.

³¹¹ Healy-Clancy, "The Politics of New African Marriage", p. 13.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

and educated men.³¹³ This is an issue that Petje highlights in 1944, emphasising the challenges of interethnic relationships in which each cultural group has their own ideas. Bride price today is much more contested than it used to be because of changes within society and different approaches to previously assumed traditional gender roles and expectations.³¹⁴ Race is a relatively new consideration within a myriad of already existing challenges amongst African approaches to lobola. White South Africans do not do lobola at all so the assumption that this ritual will take place in an interracial relationship is not a given, nor is the assumption that the family will know how to go about the tradition. Lobola in an interracial relationship is also more complex because until 1994 cross-racial relationships were punishable by law. Apartheid laws like the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act meant that any cross racial intimate activities were illegal.³¹⁵

A representation of this illicit activity takes place in the film *Skin* (Anthony Fabian, 2008) when protagonist Sandra Laing runs away from home with her black boyfriend, Petrus. Sandra's father, Abraham Laing, has spent much of his daughter's life fighting the government for her racial classification to be white because even though she looks mixed race, she is the product of two white parents. By the time Sandra runs away to Swaziland with Petrus she is so confused about her identity that she wishes only to marry him and live with his family, as she feels more accepted among other Black people. In the scene in which Sandra and Petrus are found, the police enter a small makeshift shack like dwelling where the couple are asleep. They

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Funso Afolayan, *Culture and Customs of South Africa* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 182.

³¹⁵ Immorality Act of 1957: <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1957-023.pdf> [Accessed 31 December 2015].; A PDF file of the Mixed Marriages Act was not accessible, however, the following link is a copy of the 1985 amendment to both the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act: <http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Act%2072%20of%201985.pdf> [Accessed 31 December 2015].

come in and grab hold of Petrus, asking him where the white girl is. When Sandra identifies herself as the white girl they begin to laugh because she does not look white. Despite this, Sandra's official racial classification is white and so Petrus is punished for being in violation of the Immorality Act. When they marry soon afterwards, Sandra reclassifies from white to coloured so that her children will not be taken away from her.

Although a post-apartheid film, *Skin's* narrative is a historical biopic which traverses Sandra's life. Even though race is central, her relationship with her black husband is presented within the context of apartheid. *Fanie Fourie's Lobola*, however, is a post-apartheid film set in a post-apartheid context. Based on a 1954 novel of the same name by Nape a Motana, *Fanie Fourie's Lobola (Lobola)* was adapted to film by director Henk Pretorius to create a post-apartheid romantic comedy that deals with some of the racial and cultural challenges of post-apartheid life. As has been shown in previous chapters, even though apartheid has ended and the rhetoric of the 'Rainbow Nation' prevails, representations of the lived experiences of race in South Africa still show that difficulties with cross-racial living and racial separation remain pronounced. This latter point has been discussed throughout the thesis and serves as a constant reminder of the separateness imposed by apartheid. *Lobola* employs a similar strategy because Dinky (Zethu Dlomo) and Fanie (Eduan van Jaarsveldt) live in different racial neighbourhoods of Johannesburg: Dinky in the township of Soweto and Fanie in a high-walled white suburb.

In the previous chapter these spaces were identified as hypermasculine and violent through the actions of the tsotsi characters. *Lobola*, like another post-apartheid rom-com, *White Wedding* (Jann Turner, 2010), employs overt character

stereotypes. Such films aim to show post-apartheid racial difficulties without dwelling on the impossibilities and 'working through' of the 'Rainbow' but rather the 'working beyond' the trauma. Fanie and Dinky are two young South Africans, he a middle class Afrikaner from Pretoria and she a well-educated Zulu woman. Fanie scores a date with Dinky when she takes pity on him after his hypermasculine brother and friends bet that he will not ask the first woman who steps into the shop to attend his brother's wedding. Dinky, with her own agenda in mind, agrees to be Fanie's date in return for him visiting her family home. Although Fanie and Dinky do not intend to fall in love, they do. When they decide to marry they run into a challenging situation because of their different cultural and racial backgrounds because, in the event of marriage, Fanie is expected to pay lobola for Dinky. However, as the tradition of lobola negotiations goes, the discussion and negotiation about the bridal price does not take place between bride and groom but between the male elders from either side.

My analysis of the use of lobola negotiations is indicative of a new structure of feeling which focuses on a few scenes which follow each other and centre around the issue of lobola. Soon after Dinky and Fanie set their intention to marry, they visit an old derelict house which Dinky wishes to buy as part of a new business venture. The pair is shot from a high angle from a hole in the roof of the building structure. The derelict house is considered to be a metaphor for the new South Africa: the structure is there but there are many things that must be fixed and dealt with before anyone can live in it. This birds' eye view angle of the couple is also reminiscent of an earlier scene in which they are on a date and Fanie asks her to lay down on the grass next to him to look up at the blooming Jacaranda trees, a staple of the city of Tshwane. In that scene they are at the Union Buildings, the official seat of the national government and the President's office. Fanie and Dinky's blooming love is validated by the official and

heavy historical structures of national politics and the mise-en-scène of the union buildings which overlook the city. It is as though, set against this backdrop, the pair is the perfect embodiment of the 'Rainbow Nation'. But *Lobola* is not about reifying the 'Rainbow' myth, it is also about showing how complex it can be, as shown in different capacities in the two scenes with the couple looking skyward. On the one hand, the pretty surroundings of the purple Jacaranda leaves and the manicured lawns of the Union buildings validate their blooming love. On the other hand, that scene also recalls the history of the past and the inconceivability of such a union not too long ago. Although the daytime Jacaranda-framed scene only brings the positive aspects of the union to light, the similarly staged scene in the dark of the derelict house brings the more difficult representational elements of their union to light.

As the pair is framed facing skyward once again, Dinky begins to tell Fanie about how she intends to use what will be her married surname in loan applications at the bank because a Black surname has not helped her. Fanie is shocked that she thinks being white in the new South Africa is better than being Black. Dinky stands up as she becomes defensive. Dinky points out that she is the only woman who, out of her high school girl friends, does not have a child. Instead of a child, she has a degree and plans. In other words, Dinky explains to Fanie what historical disadvantage means. This broken interaction is important as it begins specifically from the moment in which race is brought into the conversation and Dinky moves from lying next to Fanie to standing up and speaking 'at' him. It is an interaction that shows that Fanie does not understand the historical and contemporary challenges for his bride-to-be. There is a disjuncture in their ability to love one another because their different races and backgrounds hamper what they know about each other and what may be sensitive, complex or simply hard to understand. What Fanie addresses through the words

“think outside the box”, with reference to Dinky’s business plan, renders in a different register for Dinky, who already perceives as herself as far outside of the proverbial box.

The scene presents the complexity of the ‘Rainbow’ youth in post-apartheid, because although it is possible for Dinky and Fanie to fall in love (invited in the context of a new structure of feeling), there is a range of things that also hamper their ability to properly understand each other. For example, Fanie’s panel-beating art business later becomes Dinky’s business venture and she lets go of the house restoration idea. This change in Dinky’s approach to her business ideas as well as Fanie’s realisation that his talent and ability is worth something presents a shift in the two as a couple. However, I also suggest that the new business idea presents a shift in how the couple is able to render themselves as part of the ‘Rainbow’ nation, a negotiated union rather than a truly romantic one. In other words, for change to truly occur, it is proven necessary that they both “think outside of the box” and negotiate and implement the ideology of the union.

Fanie’s lobola team is comprised of his uncle and the family gardener Petrus, who Fanie treats and thinks of as family, even though Fanie’s mother, Mrs Fourie, does not. Petrus also assists Fanie with the bespoke restoration of cars, Fanie’s passion and a business that he cannot quite get off the ground. The lobola process begins as soon as they get to the front gate of the modest house with their brown paper bag of cash and a bottle of hard liquor in hand. Petrus greets a young boy with a parable-like request to enter: “We have come to pick a beautiful flower from your garden...Dinky Magubane”, to which the boy and Fanie’s uncle look around at the barren soil in the front yard. Traditionally this request would have been made in isiZulu, a language

which is used in the film to make it clear that the young black boy and the elderly man, Petrus, speak to each other in English to accommodate Fanie's uncle, who cannot speak isiZulu. The older men stand outside of a small gate and are framed in medium shots as they wait. From Fanie's point of view they are shown from behind and in that shot we see the young boy with whom they negotiate their entry. Included in the shot is the wide-angle expanse of Soweto township in the background. The glimpse of Fanie on the back seat of the bakkie makes him look young and contained in a small space. Shot in close-ups in such a confined space, the scene contributes to his anxiety about the negotiations, a feeling which seems to grow when his uncle decides to 'disagree' with the request for more money to enter.

In order to enter through the front gate (and conduct the negotiations) they must offer the family money in cash, the first among a few traditional processes the white farmer uncle will not understand. They offer the boy R100, which he rejects as he gestures with his hands for more money. The elders, including Dinky's father, watch from the front door. Petrus explains to Fanie's uncle that more money will allow them entry, to which the white man unexpectedly reacts by beginning to 'toyi-toyi'. He asks Petrus in Afrikaans, "isn't this what your people do when they are unhappy?" Fanie's uncle's decision to toyi-toyi is in reaction to the higher entry 'fee' meaning that he considers this action a method that Black South Africans deem appropriate whenever they are unhappy.

He however says that he is trying to show the elders that he respects their tradition. The elders laugh at him, and in the meantime Petrus hands the boy another R100 note, after which they are welcomed inside. Differently to how the 'toyi-toying' action is employed in a tongue-in-cheek fashion in this scene, it is fact an action

historically associated with the struggle against apartheid when Black people partook in numerous marches, sang, walked and were, through the use of different actions (toyi-toying included), able to display their deep disgruntlement with a system of oppression. The film's light approach means that an argument for the action to be read as more than inarticulate humour would be an over exaggeration. Nevertheless, it is also not to be dismissed as only humorous as it contributes to new understandings of this very act and the historical legacy, and contemporary post-apartheid inequality, still articulated through toyi-toying. Dinky's elders condone the toy-toyi-ing as humorous because they laugh at him and so it is not clear whether the film's comment is in line with the uncle's, that the act be read as respectful for their (Black) tradition or not. It appears however, that we are also invited to laugh at Fanie's uncle along with the Magubane elders and in turn, this humorous take on a political action encompasses Blacks and whites beyond the characters in this film. The action invites a metaphorical salute to new incarnations of the 'Rainbow' and shows the context of an emergent structure of feelings.

Once Fanie's lobola team have entered the house they continue with the rituals. The first image is of Fanie's uncle and Petrus in a medium shot as the former heartily greets Dinky's team. The camera then jumps to show Dinky's elders in a wide-angle shot; they fill the screen and Dinky's father sits in the middle, indicating that he is the leader of these negotiations. Petrus is the one who knows what to do in this context and the uncle follows his lead. This is a curious reversal of roles because Petrus is the character of the gardener at Mrs Fourie's house. In that context, he is never the one in charge, let alone allowed to have an opinion because of Fanie's mother's racist outlook and behaviour. Seeing Petrus in this powerful role is indicative of the real inversion of power from apartheid to post-apartheid. When they are first

shown in this scene the pair are framed in a medium shot and he happily greets Dinky's team with a hearty "Sanibonani Manomzani", meaning "Good day, gentlemen". In the wide-angle shot that follows all the elders except for Dinky's father answers his greeting in unison. The uncle then proceeds to sit but is hastily pulled up by Petrus who informs him that they need to pay to sit. In this scene Fanie's uncle continues to make attempts at doing what he thinks is right, only to be met with an indication that he is wrong. This stilted interaction that persists throughout the negotiations is a repeated comment in the film about cultural differences. It is only when Petrus places some money onto the table in front of them that Dinky's father motions for them to sit down.

As though a point about the fact that the lobola negotiations are not going to be easy has been made, the camera cuts to a different setting to show where Fanie is. The young man is seated in a neighbour's lounge but the first image in the scene is a close-up of a raw chicken. The close-up of the chicken remains on screen as we see a knife come down on the bird. As Dinky's matriarchal neighbour talks to Fanie, we realise that, should Fanie not treat Dinky right, he could be under the proverbial knife. The next image is of Fanie alone on a couch in the adjacent room. Aware of the filled lounge at Dinky's house, the young man looks vulnerable and alone. He too is unaware of the process of lobola and has generally followed the advice of others so far. The neighbour's opening comments to Fanie are that she will forget "all about Mandela's forgiveness and the spirit of ubuntu and take revenge", should she find out that Dinky is unhappy. This comment is supported by the photographs of Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu that occupy the wall where Fanie sits. Their portraits are perched higher than Fanie and they hang on the wall amidst ornaments and family photographs. The way she speaks about the two deified South African men and the

way in which they are presented among her own family relics, makes it seem as though they are part of her family too. Her comments come from inside the kitchen and she talks to Fanie and sees him from that point of view, both aware that he is close but not quite in the same room. Her warnings to Fanie reference the end of apartheid and the TRC and in talking about Fanie and Dinky's union against this backdrop, she equates their union, like the union of the new South Africa, to an outcome of the TRC.

The lobola negotiations end quite uncharacteristically when Mr Magubane finds Fanie in Dinky's room. While the male elders of either family manage the lobola negotiations, the funds for the lobola must come from the groom. In this case, because Fanie's mother was completely unsupportive of his marriage to a Black woman, she refused to help him with lobola money and so he made a loan. Fanie unwisely borrows lobola money from a sneaky Mandla, Dinky's ex-boyfriend, who is desperate to reunite with her. Throughout the film Mandla showers Dinky and her father with money and things that they do not need. Although Dinky does not want to be with Mandla, he is the perfect guy in her father's opinion, a consideration only from the point of view that Mandla is also Black and knows the customs and culture. As a bonus, Mandla is also wealthy. Her father cannot understand why his daughter would want to marry a white man as opposed to someone like Mandla, a point that becomes particularly obvious when the lobola negotiations fall apart because of Fanie's presence in the house. Mr Magubane considers this culturally disrespectful. Towards the end of this scene the lobola party stand outside the gates of the Magubane house once more, this time with Mandla presenting himself as the better option and Fanie forlorn and upset about how the event has panned out.

Fanie loaned money from Mandla's company, conveniently called "Ubuntu Finance", yet another tongue-in-cheek reference to the new South Africa. The fact that Fanie needs to repay the loan on that day based on Mandla's scheming, is further comment on the slippery space that the post-apartheid Black middle class occupy. Mandla is a representative of this growing class in South Africa and he flaunts his wealth around the township as he drives around in his fancy black sports model Mercedes Benz. As with many of the Black diamonds, the conspicuous position of such a character is placed under consistent scrutiny in the township, where on the one hand, his expensive car stands in stark opposition to the poverty of the township. On the other hand Mandla's car is a symbol of success and wealth and guarantees him respect. "Ubuntu Finance", like Mandla (and potentially, the film suggests, post-apartheid South Africa) is a farce and a dodgy scheme. Against the backdrop of Fanie and Dinky as a metaphor of union for the nation, "Ubuntu Finance" is both what makes the promise of the union possible and at the same time represents the failure of the union. In their joint study on race and inequality in South Africa, Kevin Durrheim, Xoliswa Mtose and Lyndsay Brown write that although the growing middle class exhibit significant development, poverty and wealth nevertheless remains racialised.³¹⁶

Mr Magubane demands sixty-five live cows for Dinky. After Dinky pleads with him he rethinks his decision and asks for thirty "...living and breathing cows like in the old days when people still respected our tradition". The old days that he refers to, is also a time when some of the contemporary expectations of lobola negotiations highlighted above (like education and interracial relations) were not considerations.

³¹⁶ Kevin Durrheim, Xoliswa Mtose and Lyndsay Brown, *Race Trouble: Race, Identity and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2011), p. 19.

The irony is that the 'old days' would also have been during apartheid and Fanie and Dinky would not be in a position to wed in the way they want to in this post-apartheid context. Mr Magubane's nostalgia for what was a deeply problematic context is brought to light throughout the film but is stressed in this scene and also at the end of the film when, in the same setting outside his township house, Fanie arrives with the thirty cows. However it is not only Mr Magubane but also Fanie's mother who articulates desires for respect and tradition also located in the past. When Fanie returns from his botched lobola attempt, for example, his mother is opening champagne to celebrate what can only be understood as his failure. Even Fanie's happiness is second to her proud Afrikaner identity.

What Mrs Fourie and Mr Magubane present in *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* is the seemingly impenetrable residual structure of feeling which exists even though they are both also aware that life is no longer like it was. Their desires for the fixed bounds of apartheid racial (and cultural) categories is different also to the residual and messy traits in Francois and David (Chapter Four). The middle aged white men presented something more akin to a complex psychological agitation with identity and place, these older characters present a generation who seem like they cannot move beyond the fixedness of apartheid constructions. This situation persists until much later when Mrs Fourie and Mr Magubane are able to set aside their beliefs to support Fanie and Dinky's union as a union of love. Their support does not however extend to seeing themselves differently.

However, the focus of this chapter rests on trying to explore the presence of a new structure of feeling. Firstly, the analysis shows that Dinky and Fanie's union is framed as quite normative except for the unique situation of post-apartheid race

relations and the challenges that these present for the ritual of lobola. The fact that Dinky and Fanie fall in love is itself noteworthy and points to the presence of a new structure of feeling because of the possibility of their union. What was evidenced in the films of the previous chapter is also present in this film: a context of a new structure of feeling exists. However, through Dinky's character this film extends beyond the township. On the one hand, Dinky's aspiration is not emphasised as material. She is proud, confident and educated and her constant rejection of Mandla suggests that for her, a post-apartheid life as a young Black woman is in fact not about material wealth. While Mandla is representative of the growing Black middle class and not quite like Sox or the tsotsis, he is still a character formulated in line with what was evidenced in the previous chapter. Dinky however is not.

In the final sequence of the film, Fanie manages to secure the thirty live cows and arrives at the Magubane residence with his mother and Petrus. Fanie has restored and decorated a truck in green and gold, the colours of the Springbok rugby team, with horns on the front of the truck to complete the Springbok national reference. In Chapter Two I briefly alluded to rugby's important and strategic place in Afrikaner culture.³¹⁷ Although Fanie is an avid rugby supporter (he and Dinky also attend a game early in the film), the sport remains a contentious symbol of apartheid in South Africa. However, it is also a sport that was instrumentalised by President Nelson Mandela in the building of the new 'Rainbow Nation' when, in 1995, he publically supported the national team in the Rugby World Cup. This historical moment was so effectual that the film *Invictus* (Clint Eastwood, 2009) was made about it, rendering the union between Springboks and Mandela as intrinsic in the building of the new nation in the

³¹⁷ In addition to the brief discussion of rugby and Afrikanerdom, I referenced Grundlingh, "Playing for Power", pp. 408 – 430 in Chapter Two for some insight into the sport and Afrikaner culture.

immediate aftermath of the first democratic elections. It was also Mandela who fought for the Springbok to remain the national symbol and so, when Fanie builds horns for his 'new look' truck, he uses the positive Mandela-inflected incarnation of the symbol to show his status as 'New South African'. The passengers also employ the enthusiastic spirit of 'Rainbow Nation'.

On arrival at the Magubane home, Fanie exits the truck and again asks Mr Magubane for Dinky's hand in marriage, pointing to the cows as requested. The setting is the same as the last time that Fanie was at Mr Magubane's house for Dinky's lobola. Camera shots vary between medium and long shots between the characters and, often in the same frame as Mr Magubane, the expanse of Soweto. Although Dinky is from the township, she is characterised as someone who not only believes in the possibilities of the 'Rainbow' but also someone who is able to make and implement changes to evidence the actualities of the promises of the 'Rainbow'. This is clear at the end of the film when Dinky, in a shot-reverse-shot sequence with her father, explains to him in Zulu that while she needed and wanted Fanie to prove himself to her and her father, she does not want her father to accept the cows because they (Dinky and Fanie) need to start their own traditions. The use of Zulu in this sequence indicates a private moment between Dinky and her father, a kind of letting go of the past and articulation of a new future, one which he may not even fully grasp.

I consider this as a distinct difference from the young men seen previously, in that Dinky is able to point to how the past is important and relevant but at the same time, she is able to assert herself and her post-apartheid desires within a new framework. She also acknowledges that while the context exists, it is still up to her

and Fanie to figure out what those new traditions look like. Nevertheless, she makes a distinction between herself and Fanie and each of their parents.

The (im)perfect lobola that takes place in this film is a fitting allegory for the unification of South Africa after the end of apartheid. The lobola in the film, as with the lobola of the 'Rainbow Nation' had to be negotiated on terms that did not exist. Everything that follows then, like Dinky and Fanie's union, also requires new customs and traditional rituals and, like the film presents, these new constructions will not be entirely devoid of the past.

***Elelwani*: the Burden of being a Young, Free Woman**

Elelwani, which means ‘to remember’, is the first Venda language film made in South Africa. The film is based on a 1954 novel of the same name by TN Maumela.³¹⁸ MJ Mafela writes that *Elelwani*, like a number of other Venda novels at the time, was about Christian modernity, which became increasingly pressing in the 1950s as more missionaries tried to infiltrate traditional customs and traditions.³¹⁹ Narratives like *Elelwani* are part of a particular period’s fears and assertions. Wa Luruli adjusted this narrative to suit post-apartheid’s growing urban context and to juxtapose that with Venda culture and traditions. In such a context, traditional cultural matters like witchcraft and the Venda King come up against the freedoms of an educated woman.

Like Dinky, *Elelwani* (Florence Masebe) is the first woman in her family to receive a University degree and has her own aspirations for her future. The film is relevant in this chapter because it presents a negotiation between rural tradition and family obligation and urban (female) freedom. My analysis in this section reflects on the complex and near impossible balance of responsibility that *Elelwani* has to herself and the responsibility she feels to her family and aims to show the incongruent sensibilities (from *Elelwani*’s point of view) as illustrative of a new structure of feeling. Before she returns to her family’s rural village, *Elelwani* is a representative of a young woman in the new South Africa. Although we never see her and her partner, (who she affectionately calls her butterfly), in their joint urban life, her explanations of it and

³¹⁸ M. J. Mafela, “The First Venda Novel Writers and the Clash of Cultures”, *South African Journal of African Languages* 19:2 (1999), pp. 117 – 127.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

their plans to travel overseas for her aspirations, imply that she is an ambitious young woman with agency.

The film's opening scene is of Elelwani dressed in traditional Venda garments. She is in a well-decorated bedroom as she explains her name and how she came to be where she is. This opening scene also forms the backdrop for the title sequence. The *mise-en-scène* shifts dramatically from the lush bedroom to show a modest VW Golf approach an elderly couple. The car is surrounded by red dust as it enters the village. A young woman (Elelwani) exits the car but leaves the young man, Vele, to watch on as she is met first by her good friend (the only one who notices her boyfriend), then her little sister and moments later, her parents. The image of the family is partly from Vele's point of view, indicating his desire to be a part of the welcome and also indicating that for some reason he is not allowed to be there. Elelwani's glances back at him also convey a sense of caution. Nevertheless, the overwhelming emotion of the welcome scene is the excitement and pride around Elelwani's return. As the family stand around in what appears to be an indistinct patch of grass where they welcome their daughter, Elelwani shares her own gifts of pride, and divides her graduation robe and hood between her mother and father.

Their comments indicate that they know that she has worn this to her graduation but their gushing also reveals that they do not realise the value attached to the gown and hood and thus the degree that Elelwani has been awarded. Elelwani gives her father her graduation gown, which he places over his clothing, exclaiming how he will wear this to the tribal council meetings. She then gives her mother the hood of the gown, which her mother says she will wear to wipe the sweat off herself when she is in the fields. Elelwani's parents realise that the gown is significant but the

allocation of the garments to everyday agrarian activities introduces the film's main idea, which is about asking how it might be possible to combine an urban educated life with the entrenched traditions of rural Venda culture. This scene sets up what will follow as a very simple and consistent presentation of traditional values that Elelwani's parents adhere to. It is in the next scene however that we experience Elelwani's own position in relation to her parents and the beginnings of the antagonisms between tradition and modernity.

The scene opens against the backdrop of what appears to be a ritual ceremony. Women are seated on the floor as they lean over huge pots and bowls of food. There is dancing and music and a sense of celebration which is inferred by the presence of huge pots of food, people dressed in traditional attire and singing. Elelwani and her childhood girlfriend are however not participating in any of the celebration and are instead standing away from the crowd gossiping and giggling. In the background we see Vele watching them and the village in celebration. Like in the first scene, he is again presented as an outsider, watching Elelwani and her family but not part of it. In the midst of Elelwani explaining about her and Vele's plans to move to Chicago, her young sister calls her to go see their father in one of the huts.

The round hut is dimly lit compared to the bright sunny day outside and there is no furniture inside except three occupied chairs. There are three men; one of them is Elelwani's father and the other two remain unknown to her for the duration of her presence there. The lighting emphasises their faces and conveys the impression that they are very important. Their importance is further emphasised by the fact that they are seated while Elelwani presents herself to them in a horizontal position, lying down on a reed mat on the floor. She faces them but does not look at them. The camera

emphasises her position by focusing on her face in close-ups throughout this scene. In Venda tradition this is the respectful way for a woman to present herself to male elders. Elelwani's mother presents herself in the same way when later in the film she shuffles into the hut on her knees. While Elelwani's father speaks about her in this scene, a sense of her feelings about what she hears is only conveyed through her facial expressions and her eyes. Her father introduces Elelwani to the two elderly men without her moving, and they thank him for raising her. The camera jumps to a close-up of Elelwani's face nestled between her arms. Her expression, shown through her eyes, vacillates between shock and confusion around the words like "princess" and "wife", which the men appear to be using in a discussion about her.

What Elelwani does not know is that the traditional ceremony that she has been observing as a visitor from the city who will soon leave, is actually about and *for* her. Just before she is called to see her father, she and her friend joked about how she would soon be free of cow dung, a reference to the rural lifestyle in Venda. However now, she begins to realise that this is the kind of lifestyle that has already been ascribed to her without her consent. Elelwani is finally let in on what is happening when she is called to her parents' hut later the next day. The set up in the hut is similar to the day before except this time it is only her father on a chair. Elelwani's mother sits next to him on the floor and Elelwani opposite them. This is the first scene of many in which Elelwani firmly asserts her independence to her parents. It is also the first scene in which her parents make it clear that they do not understand why she is so disrespectful of their desires for her and point out her education as something that has 'made her' hostile and rude to her elders. The implication is not only about rural life contrasted against urban life but also a comment on something about within

in: that education and freedom hinders a woman's ability to succumb to the unquestionable tradition of respect for one's parents.

Although Elelwani does not lie down on the floor this time, she is still seated and her gaze remains low as she talks looking downwards. Her father speaks on behalf of both mother and father. The three are first captured in a wide angle shot from behind Elelwani which again shows the modest dwelling but serves to express the importance and centrality of the discussion. Although the shot-reverse-shot pattern is often used to show a dialogue between people, the use of it in this scene is different because Elelwani never actually meets her father's gaze. It is thus difficult to consider the dialogue as equal because of her unengaged gaze. Although she remains vociferous about her own beliefs, for example she refuses the marriage to the King, her body language makes it confusing to watch the disagreement. Nevertheless, the meeting shows that the two generations understand the world differently. However prestigious her university accolades may be, Elelwani's degrees mean little in Venda. That she has been chosen as a wife for the King is more of a source of pride than individual achievement found in her degree, and this is what her parents do not understand. For Elelwani though, her intention is not to disrespect her parents or her culture but is instead grounded in an individualistic approach to modern success. Against the backdrop of post-apartheid South Africa, this analysis considers Elelwani's sensibility around urban possibility as folded into the rhetoric and practicalities of the 'Rainbow Nation'. Although the film does not overtly reference the socio-political context of South Africa, it employs various references that set up a binary between the safety and correctness of the past through tradition and the impractical foolishness of the present seen in Elelwani.

One such example takes place in a scene in which the King's elders come to collect the new bride from her family home. Elelwani learns that the two elders do not know that the country, America, is a place and not a person. In the context of the village these two men receive significant respect and are treated as the wisest men in the village. However, when Elelwani calls on their rationality, she is met with out-dated ideas about tradition as well as, almost to her surprise, when seated in her position on the floor, the men's lack of awareness exhibits that there are facts about the world that they simply do not know. The point is that there are different hierarchies of power and importance in the village that are far outside of the realities of the politics of South Africa and even the world.

After a number of days have passed and Elelwani has not gotten her parents to change their minds yet, she decides to challenge what she is traditionally permitted to. The two old men sit on a concrete slab outside the shed that she has been sharing with the chickens. She goes against tradition and approaches them, taking her seated position so that they look down at her. The scene takes place using the shot-reverse-shot pattern but again bears the uncomfortable feeling that it is not truly a dialogue. Elelwani explains that she has been offered a prestigious opportunity of a bursary for further study in America. The two old men do not understand and begin to integrate the concept of the bursary into their own understanding of the world through changing the terms so that 'bursary' becomes 'basa-basa' and America becomes 'Mr Maliga'. Although Elelwani tries to explain that Maliga is not a man or a King but a place, they do not understand. The elders exhibit some of the historical legacies of apartheid because it is possible that they received no formal education. Their persistent reaction, as with her parents, is that Elelwani should be proud to become a wife to the King. When the elders finally understand that 'Maliga' is a place, Elelwani

tries to contextualise it further by associating a President like Mandela to it, to which they answer that someone like Mandela will then understand that she already has a husband. The interaction leaves Elelwani even more frustrated than before. The confinement she experiences is emphasised through her body language and the space she occupies, the chicken coop.

Up until this point the film succeeds in showing us the complex interrelationship between Elelwani and Venda traditions. Director wa Luruli explains that the film culminates in a knowledge that modernity (an educated women) and Venda tradition do not need to be mutually exclusive but can in fact live alongside each other. Elelwani represents the young woman in the present South Africa, who “is trying to forge a bridge between what it was (her past), and what it is (her present)... neither of the two is better than the other”.³²⁰ What wa Luruli references is evidenced in the analysis, an intricate and complex relation between Elelwani as an educated young woman and as a young woman who wants to honour her tradition. It poses a question about where Elelwani should draw the line between what is permissible for her as a young woman living in post-apartheid South Africa and how much of that woman can also be a traditional Venda woman. Elelwani’s experiences are also part of post-apartheid complexities of identity because she is part of the first generation that has to learn to negotiate these divergent yet related emergent sensibilities. She is also part of a generation that is forced to articulate the complexities. As shown in previous chapters, apartheid’s fixedness, as a highly controlled place and legislated system, confirmed and epitomised identities. It was a system that relied heavily on community and the persistent promotion of ethnic sameness to achieve its goals of separate

³²⁰ <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-30-insights-into-an-exotic-culture> [Accessed Monday 21 September 2015].

development.³²¹ Elelwani's seemingly individualistic nature in the face of Venda tradition goes against apartheid's constructions.

Thus far the analysis has shown how Elelwani is different from her parents and how the main protagonist is stuck in a precarious place of negotiation between past and present, Venda tradition and urban assertiveness. This final section focuses specifically on Elelwani's departure from her rural homestead to the King's compound. Her reason for agreeing to marry the King is seen as a sacrifice, as her parents were about to send her school-going sister instead of Elelwani. In order to save her sister, Elelwani concedes to the situation.

The process of conversion from young urban chic woman to a demure traditional Venda wife expresses a significant transition. Although Elelwani ends on a redemptive note, as Elelwani comes to rule the village, the point remains that she did not choose that life. The analysis that follows thus considers the transformation and the stripping of agency that Elelwani possessed in the urban space that we do not see in the film at all. Elelwani is consequently presented as part of a new generation within the context of post-apartheid and, I argue, is representative of a complexly emergent structure of feeling because she holds the promise of being able to combine different worlds.

When the time comes for Elelwani to depart to the King's compound, it is her mother's duty to clothe the new bride. The scene is like a personal ceremony in which

³²¹ The apartheid government pronounced Venda a separate ethnic homeland (Bantustan) in 1979. In the four bantustans around South Africa, separate homelands were meant to promote separate development of Blacks from whites, and kept Blacks out of urban centres. Noteworthy scholarship on the topic includes: Brian H. King and Brent Mc Cusker, "Environment and Development in the Former South African Bantustans", *Geographical Journal* 173: 1 (March 2007), pp. 6 – 12., Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: from Segregation to Apartheid", *Economy and Society* 1:4 (1972), pp. 425 – 456. Rob Nixon incorporates the homelands in his discussion on South African cinema in Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*.

the mother disrobes her daughter and sends her armed and literally clothed for her new home. In *Elelwani* we see the removal of her bright 'girly' colours and accessories to make way for a full traditional Venda outfit which mirrors her own mother's. The scene also plays a critical role in making visible the relationship between *Elelwani* as part of one generation and her mother as part of another. Throughout the film *Elelwani's* mother has subscribed to patriarchal values. Her positioning is, without a doubt compounded by the physical gestures that accompany a woman's role in Venda culture, such as always bowing your head when addressing a male figure and serving food on your knees. Although *Elelwani* also subscribes to these customs, her self-assertion positions her outside of her mother's world.

The scene takes place in a hut: a now familiar setting although it is unclear whether it is one that we have seen before or another hut because there are no decorative elements that serve to resituate the viewer. As *Elelwani's* mother removes items of clothing she also gives her tips for how to be a good married woman. Two mirrors are placed against the wall of the hut; one is full length and the other reflects *Elelwani's* calves, parts of her body that are no longer to be seen by anyone other than her husband. *Elelwani's* mother's warnings and suggestions are intended to help the new bride, however, they are ideas that stand in direct contrast with the kind of life *Elelwani* has envisioned for herself. The result for *Elelwani* is witnessed in this scene through her complete lack of interest and her desperate reluctance, which appears almost in contrast to the physical change in her look that is so enthusiastically affirmed throughout the scene by her mother. *Elelwani's* expression remains blank and the older woman's wisdoms are not met with any responses from her daughter.

The intimacy of the moment is very clear in the way they are framed in this scene, as the shots vacillate between long shots from a distance, as though shot from the other side of the hut in order to express a feeling of witnessing something quite sacred, or a variation of close-ups that express each woman's inner state. Elelwani's clothing is visible on the floor as her mother tells her that she will no longer wear such things anymore. The camera then zooms in to a close-up of her colourful clothing, and life, in a discarded pile. We continue to watch her mother dress her in the traditional Venda skirt and beads. This is a process of witnessing Elelwani's acceptance of her fate and a sense of sadness that everything she has worked so hard for will dissipate in this hypermasculine and patriarchal world. This distinct sense of the inter-generational gap remains a pressing representation throughout the scene as the mother's excitement grows even in spite of Elelwani's clear pain. The camera zooms in on Elelwani's face in a close-up as her mother continues to talk about the chores of a married woman: collecting water, making food, answering the elders respectfully and most importantly, not embarrassing them, her family.

About half way through this scene Elelwani appears alongside her mother in a full frontal shot. The transformation is now complete and her appearance expresses a full-circle metamorphosis. Not only has all her clothing been removed, she also has no accessories, nor does she have a weave as her hair is short and plain looking. Unexpectedly though, something of the past remains. In a close-up of the side of Elelwani's face we see the outline of a butterfly behind her ear. This is a reminder of her butterfly, Vele, but like this scene in which Elelwani has transformed, it is a reminder of the self that she chose and had become. The butterfly's presence is thus not only a metaphor for an unwanted transformation but it is also a permanent

reminder of the chosen butterfly of her previous life in a larger context of transformation.

Elelwani does not raise her head in this scene, always keeping her gaze low even though she does not have to practise this with her mother. The old woman remains aloof, genuinely unaware of the depth of Elelwani's upset. This again points to the unarticulated generational and cultural differences between the two women and a base staccato sound on the soundtrack complements this eerie expectant mood. The final part of the clothing process is her mother draping the beads over her upper body. For this final decoration, Elelwani does not lift her arms voluntarily and the old woman has to take and lift them herself in order to finish the arrangement. Elelwani's disdain is palpable in this moment as throughout this scene, however, the final sense of her anger is conveyed when her mother gushes over her after she is fully clothed in the new outfit. Her mother's insistence about Elelwani's beauty and her persistent request for Elelwani to see the beauty that she sees further emphasises the differing sensibilities of their realities. When her mother excitedly laughs to herself, she also exclaims that her daughter should turn around to look at herself in the mirror. Framed in a close-up, Elelwani turns her head to the right as though she might turn around to look at herself but instead of following her mother's instruction she does not. As the camera zooms out, Elelwani's full body comes into vision to show that her body remains forward-facing even though her head is turned towards the mirror.

This scene is the definitive moment of Elelwani's acceptance of her fate in this negotiation. Furthermore, this event undoes the expectation that she had of her parents and of traditional Venda culture conveyed through the elders, that although they were staunch in their cultural values, there might have been a way to marry old

traditions with new ways of being that she had learned in her city life. Elelwani thus thought that she and Vele would, like Dinky and Fanie, be able to start their own new traditions.

The soundtrack that accompanies Elelwani's departure is distinct from the music heard throughout the film. It is a slow, languid jazz sound that seems heavily indicative of Elelwani's angst about the situation. The sound is also mellow and even in rhythm, indicating a resigned acceptance. Elelwani, fully covered in a blue blanket, exits the hut not by walking but crawling out and across the front yard on small brown and white reed mats which are laid out in front of her one in front of the next. Other young women sing and dance around her, which forms another layer of sound on the billowing jazz tones of the trumpet. When she gets to the front gate of the yard in which the hut is she rises and walks to the gate of her family's compound. Before exiting, another young woman lays a mat down which Elelwani lays on in a semi-kneeling position.

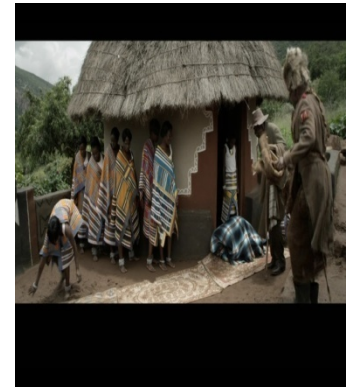
Although this scene literally follows Elelwani's exit from her parents' home to her new home with the King, it plays a part in the exit but is not the event that most impresses on us the change in Elelwani's life from who she was before her visit to Venda and the kind of life that that young woman lived. The analysis that focuses on Elelwani's transformation with her mother in the hut is the climax of the complex difficulties that Elelwani has to deal with: the tormenting psychological disjuncture between tradition and post-apartheid opportunity as a young Black woman.

The film's most pressing comment about the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, what wa Luruli has described as the possibility for differing subjectivities to exist side by side, is found to be untrue in *Elelwani* because, as argued earlier in this

section, the choice to marry the King is not one that she makes herself. It is this lack of choice that makes it impossible to argue that Elelwani's desire is for the co-existence of these worlds because, as has been illustrated in the analyses, she makes continuous attempts to get out of the situation.



[Figure 6.1] Elelwani with her mother



[Figure 6.2] Elelwani as she leaves her parents' homestead

Although the second half of the film invites a different representation of Elelwani's power, I still consider that because it was not Elelwani's choice to be there, her own role as ruler should not be thoughtlessly celebrated as an achievement. The section has shown that while Elelwani exists in a post-apartheid context in which she, as seen in *Dinky*, is able to imagine, desire and even articulate resistance against tradition, the character also exists in a context that is representative of a residual structure of feeling. In Venda, post-apartheid South Africa and its young people seems to be a futuristic construct because in that rural context, tradition and separatism still seem to be applied in the same fixed ways as they were during apartheid. Elelwani's parents and the elders are thus representative of a deeply residual structure of feeling, which, in Venda, remains dominant. It is as though the contemporary emergent

context has not infiltrated there yet either even though it is clear that these characters are aware that apartheid has ended.

Elelwani's emergent sensibility is similar to Dinky's because it is evident that she wishes to study further, travel and choose her own partner. Elelwani is thus also far outside the proverbial box and is also, a representative of a more discernible structure of feeling within the new South Africa, perhaps even more so because her assertions take place in such an outdated context. Elelwani proves what was identified earlier as indicative of a trait of an emergent structure of feeling: a young South African who is trying to make sense of and articulate the intricacies of a 'Rainbow Nation' identity, and whose identity is distinctly different from those of previous generations.

***Disgrace* and Lucy's 'Rainbow Womb'**

The final section of this chapter now turns to an unlikely union seen between Lucy and Petrus.

This thesis has already, in the previous chapter, discussed the representation of rape and violence in relation to the three young men who rape Lucy Lurie. This section is more concerned with the aftermath of the rape, which leads to Lucy's realisation that she is pregnant and her decision to keep the child. The chapter now turns to the end of *Disgrace* in which Lucy asks her father to accept Petrus' proposal for marriage. Part of the negotiation that she offers is that Petrus can have the land but that she wants the farmhouse for herself. Lucy's offer, like the conception of the baby, is a dark twist on rituals which, in other contexts, are enacted differently. Meg Samuelson's discussion of Lucy's rape in the context of the novel uses the term "rainbow womb" with reference to the post-apartheid terminology 'Rainbow Nation'.³²² In using such a description, Samuelson describes the white womb as a boundary of race, noting that "as a white woman, Lucy has no future until her womb has been 'soiled' and 'darkened'".³²³ Whereas Dinky and Fanie choose their interracial union, Lucy has no choice in the mixed race union that she will birth.

Before David leaves the farm and after Petrus' return after the break-in and the rape, Petrus comes to Lucy's house looking for David to assist him with pipefitting. The scene takes place as David and Petrus crouch down opposite each other to join pipes under the ground one by one. These pipes will provide running water to Petrus' new house that he builds throughout the film. A conversation ensues about what happened

³²² Meg Samuelson, "The Rainbow Womb: Rape and Race in South African Fiction of the Transition", *Kunapipi* XXIV: 1&2 (2002).

³²³ Ibid., p. 93.

when Petrus was gone. Petrus knows the boy Pollux who is back after the incident, seen by David and Lucy at Petrus' party. Petrus does not admit that Pollux is family but instead confidently assures David that "now, everything is alright" and that Lucy is "forward-looking, not backward-looking". Petrus' emphasis on "forward-looking" is interesting because he insinuates that Lucy's approach is the best one in this new context. He also insinuates that David, in his insistence to know about the boy, is "backward-looking" which is not good. This scene between Petrus and David sets up the focus of this section: an analysis of the makeshift lobola that takes place between David and Petrus about Lucy, the baby and Lucy's place on the farm (and in South Africa).

As has been examined in the previous chapter, the Black 'boys' who rape Lucy are stereotypes of young Black men in South Africa. Pumla Gqola's *Rape: A South African Nightmare* contextualises the employment of this stereotype and traces its historical place in South Africa when she writes that stereotypical representations of Black males as rapists of white women has played a major role in the rise of racism.³²⁴ Gqola cautions that this is "not a small matter, and constructions of 'black peril', or what was termed '*swartgevaar*' (*black danger*) in colonial and apartheid South Africa, depended heavily on this idea of the sexually and otherwise violent Black man".³²⁵ What I intend to show in this brief analysis is that the union between Petrus and Lucy is a complex negotiation of what Gqola describes as the "constructions of 'black peril'" and however shameful, possibilities for new unions.

Lucy tells David of the pregnancy when he returns to visit her under the pretext that he is on his way to a job interview. The two are seated opposite each other at the

³²⁴ Gqola, *Rape: a South African Nightmare* (Johannesburg: MF Books, 2015), p. 4.

³²⁵ Ibid.

kitchen table when Lucy tells him that she is pregnant. The short scene incorporates a shot-reverse-shot pattern between Lucy and her father. They are both framed in medium close-ups as Lucy explains that she will have the child, that she is a woman and will not hate a child because of who its father is. The scene ends when David excuses himself, tea untouched, to go for a walk. A medium close-up of Lucy's face is held before a cut to David, who stands outside facing a wall. Overcome by the humiliation and grief of the situation, David is crying, first slightly bent over and then, more violently, as though he might collapse. With the pregnancy as a new challenge to the experience of living on the farm, Lucy has to make certain choices about her future. Her growing belly poses imminence and urgency, just like the end of apartheid, asking: what will happen next, what will it look like and is it possible to love this child born of such a violent experience?

Although Petrus expresses that he will look out for Lucy, he also points out that while David protects his child, Petrus too must protect Pollux, who is his family. The conversation takes place while David, hands in pockets, watches Petrus lay concrete for a house that will soon be his own property. Different to the conversations between Lucy and her father, where they are often both in the same eye level position making shot-reverse-shots appear natural and equal, dialogues between Petrus and David always take place with one or the other positioned higher or lower than the other, an subtle indication of power and the presence of a battle for it. It is ironic that in this 'building' scene it is Petrus who looks up at David from a low angle shot, when it is Petrus who is in fact in power. David however has a hard time accepting a second defeat when Petrus makes a pragmatic suggestion to marry Lucy. Although Lucy is able to see and acknowledge the suggestion as a gesture of protection David is not.

There are, however two expectant women in *Disgrace*: one is Lucy and the other is Petrus' wife. Samuelson notes in relation to the novel, that Petrus' "'pure' race child (that) will be born in the spring with all its suggestions of renewal and growth, while Lucy's expected only in late May, will be born into the frosts of an early Eastern Cape winter".³²⁶ The building, as with the pipes and running water, is indicative of another new present, one in which the formerly disadvantaged have access to the satisfaction of basic needs. The culmination of the conversation between Petrus and David is a suggestion that Petrus will marry Lucy because Pollux is still a child. While David thinks that the idea is preposterous, Lucy immediately sees its value. She perceives it as an acknowledgement of her presence in the new South Africa and a justification and legitimation of her stay and white presence. Lucy's awareness about the union invites us to see Lucy's controversial pregnancy in a different way, one where she acquiesces in power for her greater good and protection through the baby. Although unwanted, the child serves a purpose and invites possibilities for Lucy where they did not exist before. The scene in which Lucy and David discuss the possibility of a union between Lucy and Petrus is illuminative in showing how her pregnancy is conceived of differently after the unexpected proposal.

The scene opens with a medium close-up of David as he expresses his feeling about Petrus' proposal. A shot-reverse-shot pattern ensues between the two through which we get the distinct impression that David is angry with Lucy for not dealing with the situation in the way he sees fit. The setting is Lucy's front garden, now filled with flowers, vegetables and plants which she tends to. Lucy disagrees with David's position and clarifies that Petrus' proposal is not a traditional marriage but "an alliance, a deal..." and ultimately protection. Lucy's point of view is of David and in the

³²⁶ Ibid.

background Petrus' house (and Petrus building the house) is visible. Still beyond that is the landscape of the Eastern Cape. From David's point of view we see Lucy in her garden. These background choices are important because for David and generations before him, white men controlled the land. Not only is this no longer the case but Black men, like Petrus, are now taking back the land and the country. Black men are now the representatives of power. The film comments on this often, shown through the presence of sex (David's pursuits) and Lucy's rape juxtaposed with Petrus' new material acquisitions, land and the house that he builds throughout the film.

For Lucy's generation, the film comments, there is a dangerously pressing need to negotiate the terms of staying. David is about to return to Petrus with a rejection of his proposal when Lucy jumps up. A full-length shot makes the importance of her following lines even more compelling. She offers her terms of the negotiation: that she will accept the marriage as protection on the condition that the child is Petrus' too and thus part of his family. She will sign over all the land to him but she wants to keep the house and the kennels, which nobody, not even Petrus is permitted to enter without her permission. These are the terms of Lucy's agreement to marrying Petrus. When David tells her that it is not "workable", Lucy, in a medium close-up, exclaims, "I am not leaving, David!" Before David leaves to tell Petrus the terms of the agreement he resignedly tells Lucy how humiliating to end like this, "like a dog". Lucy agrees before David turns towards Petrus who is still building.



[Figure 6.3] David looks at Petrus in the distance as Petrus continues the building of his house

What takes place in this scene is an unconventional lobola, a negotiation of the terms of marriage, even without a bride. Even though Petrus does not call it this, Lucy understands that his suggestion to marry is about a negotiation; in a way, there is still a discussion about bride price. Like in *Fanie Fourie's Lobola*, the actual lobola and the union may appear unconventional but two primary characteristics stand out. One is that the 'negotiation' still takes place between elders, Lucy's father and Petrus, who in effect stands in for Pollux. Secondly, Lucy carries the ultimate offence in 'damages' (lowering of the bride price) in lobola negotiations, which is a pregnancy. Although it appears as though it is Lucy who articulates the terms of the agreement, it is really Petrus who steers the arrangement as he knows it will benefit him. Both Petrus and Lucy also know that Lucy's pregnancy by rape is not the only damage she carries in her "soiled womb".³²⁷ Lucy is also a white woman in post-apartheid South Africa and thus carries generational guilt.

³²⁷ Ibid.

The contrast between Lucy and David's understanding of the realities of her situation provides an illustration of a new sensibility – Lucy's – emerging against the residual dominance of her father's. As in a traditional marriage, the woman passes from the protection of her father to her husband. In this particular context, though, Petrus recognises the privilege of Blackness in the new South Africa, and is aware of how the emergent context benefits his own life.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how young women in post-apartheid South Africa struggle with historically incompatible ways of being, often slightly stuck between being educated women who have agency and know what they want, versus traditional binds that they are historically and culturally beholden to. The characters discussed are representative of emergent sensibilities within a post-apartheid context and present emergent choices and actions within that context. This is in contrast to the young men of the previous chapter who exist in an emergent context but who are characterised as incapable of articulating themselves as distinct from young Black men of a previous generation. Each example in this chapter has reflected a different negotiation of union which I argue is a productive way of thinking about the present and future of South Africa while still aware of the past.

The examples in this chapter do not only confirm the presence of an emergent structure of feeling of the new South Africa but also comment on the residual structure of feeling. Examples have shown how characters representative of the residual structure also hold a complicated place in the 'Rainbow Nation'. Although such characters are aware that apartheid is over, and often, like Mr Magubane or Elelwani's family, did not benefit from that structure, the respectful pasts that they reference are part of that time. It is notable that characters like Elelwani, Dinky and even Lucy, who deals with a different instance of a residual character in her father, are able to grapple with and begin to articulate their resistances against a contrived past that continues to impose residual elements within the present context of an emergent structure of feeling. This chapter thus concludes that the young women represent a

constructive outcome of the TRC and invite a positive repositioning on South Africa's traumatic past.

The negotiations discussed in this chapter via rituals to do with unions are also read as negotiating the 'Rainbow' in the unfixed context of post-apartheid alongside the unfixed categories proposed by the characters. Dinky, Elelwani and even Lucy, defy tradition in significant ways, while at the same time trying to forge new ways of being for themselves and their interracial and interethnic partnerships moving forward.

CONCLUSION

In her study of the cultural politics of women as consumers in post-war Germany, Erica Carter develops an argument around women's critical and crucial positions in the rebuilding the nation.³²⁸ Post-apartheid South Africa is not post-war Germany and I am by no means alluding to such a denouement, neither for the overall thesis nor for post-apartheid films discussed in it. I am, however, suggesting that this thesis's engagement with 'Representations of the Rainbow' has come to exhibit a number of distinct gendered and class points around who embodies the 'Rainbow'. Carter's study illustrates that women have been proven as the carriers of new nation before in quite remarkable ways, some of which are also relevant to this thesis. I have found that post-apartheid representations of young women achieve something similar against a backdrop of films that show how complex it really is to implement change. In the introduction to the thesis I listed some of the terms of new nation that aided in the official creation of the post-apartheid nation such as 'Rainbowism', 'South Africanese' and 'ubuntu', among others. The thesis's engagement with the rhetoric of the 'Rainbow Nation' has seen how these terms have been invoked in the films and in the characters to represent a range of sensibilities related to different stages of the process of working through the legacy of apartheid.

The films discussed in this thesis have shown that an emergent structural context, the official post-apartheid, is much more prominent than an emergent structure of feeling seen in individual characters. The context and the traits of new nation are often still embroiled in the practical legacies of the past, and thus the promises held in the rhetoric of 'Rainbow Nation' rhetoric, have been shown as

³²⁸ Carter, *How German is She?*

generally unrealised. Old, residual structures of feeling also continue to persist, sometimes in unexpected places and identities. Because of the weight and expectation that came with the end of apartheid, the official rhetoric of 'Rainbow Nation' also remains as a kind of phantom which continues to haunt and never quite reincarnates into something tangible. The thesis has thus considered this inculcated 'Rainbow Nation' rhetoric with a historical approach, found within the films and through close textual analysis according to the themes of each section. The past in the present is a recurring theme in the films dealt with in this thesis and has become culturally manifest in post-apartheid and its film culture.

Section One of the thesis's engagement with anti-apartheid films helps to contextualise the apartheid past. The identification of 'out of place' Black and white characters in apartheid shows how apartheid was a fixed place in which identities were fixed too. Although the chapter concludes that these films were generally not for South African audiences, the chapter's emphasis on examining the masculine racial binaries set up by the hyper-racialised apartheid system as seen in *A Dry White Season* and *Cry Freedom*, assists in understanding how apartheid worked. The chapter is also effective in constructing a gender binary in which women are protectors who hold families together. Beyond showing that the Black and white protagonists of the films go against the constraints of apartheid, the chapter thus also comments on women's roles in the construction and maintenance of the everyday. This point about women was found to be true in many of the examples of the post-apartheid films too.

Section Two's concerns are with how post-apartheid films represent the past, the new nation and the remnants of the past identified as representative of a residual structure of feeling. The considerations of Chapter Three illustrate that the TRC, the

primary official vehicle through which the end of apartheid was navigated, brought the trauma and historical legacies of apartheid to light. In all the films, the official event and the discourse around it present individual *and* collective (national) distress, which I perceive as trauma presented in the films. In a pre-emergent way then, this trauma, in its 'publicness', which the TRC and representations of it richly engage with, shows us that while 'Rainbow Nation' rhetoric steers the immediate post-1994 sensibilities of post-apartheid belonging, the TRC also presents a kind of end, an official 'working through'. The films of Chapter Three also show what is left behind, beneath the official trauma articulated in the TRC. The analyses of this chapter then points to parapraxis evidenced in the traumas in the films, which I consider as part of, not excluded from the 'Rainbow'. To recall Elsaessar's definition regarding the two-pronged nature of parapraxis, I consider that films about post-apartheid South Africa are both representative of a failed performance of the rhetoric of new nation and a performance of failure that has begun to find new ways of making sense of the 'Rainbow', outside of the official discourses.³²⁹ These inarticulate pains, seen in characters in the films of Chapter Three, allow me to conclude that within these representations are traumas that lie beneath that surface, which are as engrained in the 'Rainbow' as the positive aspects of 'ubuntu'.

Chapter Four's discussion of white middle-aged white men is an investigation into another lesser considered avenue of the post-apartheid context. The chapter's analyses of the tropes of shame, guilt and loss of power concludes that although characters like Francois van Heerden and David Lurie exist in a new South African context, they are unable to deal with their own pasts and the loss of white masculine power. To this end, in a sardonic homage to the TRC, these films grapple with how

³²⁹ Elsaessar, *German Cinema*, p. 26.

these middle-aged white men do not really have an identified place in the 'Rainbow'. In a way, their sexual escapades present another take on traumatic 'acting out' as they present residual elements of themselves (fixed apartheid identities) in an emergent context.

In Coombes' exploration of the gender of memory in South Africa in relation to the TRC, she points to the issue that post-apartheid memory work might be women's work.³³⁰ In her discussion of how we as viewers feel relating to the mothers in the documentary *Long Night's Journey Into Day*, she emphasises how we sympathise with them *and* feel shame at our positions as viewers.³³¹ I wish to highlight though, that it is the mothers who were the carriers of the memory narratives in this film and also in other TRC films that have been discussed in the thesis. The trauma of the apartheid past is therefore recognisable throughout the films discussed in the thesis.

Even if trauma itself is not representable, as is assumed in trauma and memory studies, then I argue that the ability to recognise trauma in the films must be worth some pause and consideration. The representability of concepts *around* the trauma, such as 'acting out' and 'working through' leads me to conclude that the films of Section Two are definitive in their ability to bring the affective emotion of trauma to the experience of watching the films. However, instead of trying to prove the 'unprovable', I chose instead to also consider the films beyond the TRC and their direct reference to trauma and apartheid. This is how it came to be that films outside of this narrative also reflected elements of trauma from apartheid and it is based on these presences that the thesis is able to draw such conclusions.

³³⁰ Coombes, *The Gender of Memory* in Radstone and Schwarz (eds.), *Memory*, pp. 442 – 458.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

In a move to question what exists beyond the 'acting out' and guilt around the past evidenced in the present, Section Three takes a more decisive turn in its search for the presence of something new and/ or emergent. Guided by Williams' concepts of 'pre-emergent' and 'emergent', Chapters Five and Six sought not only to explore the possibility of emergent structures of feeling within the films but also sought to explore the traits of the emergent. Although the investigations for the final section started without distinguishing between young men and women, the films presented themselves in this way.

Based on the analyses throughout, the thesis has been able to identify elements of an emergent structure of feeling as the ability for a post-apartheid character to show visible traits of activating a new sensibility of their own identity; and for these post-apartheid characters to enact decisions made in relation to a post-apartheid present and future which emphasises a distinct shift from how things were in the past. A further characteristic presented in the films is that these characters are also able to show awareness of the complexities of the past in such a way that I consider an emergent sensibility as encompassing that past without the past being a debilitating factor in the present. In other words, a truly emergent way of being is not one in which the characters are hampered by the past, and are thus no longer restrained by the traumas of apartheid although they are also not unaware of the history. A final emergent characteristic, and the most consistently employed in the films, refers to showing how young Black post-apartheid characters are part of a growing middle class.

Chapter Five deals with representations of infantilisation and hyper masculinities seen in the young Black men of *Disgrace*, *Tsotsi*, and *Hijack Stories*. While

each of the films present the context of the new South Africa, each also makes explicit use of showing how this new place is dangerous and problematic, often *because of* the young men. Although aware of the new nation (except for the rapists in *Disgrace*), the young men of the films place emphasis on self-assertion through masculinity in non-mainstream, seemingly marginal spaces, like the urban townships or on a remote farm, in the case of *Disgrace*. It is as though, the films suggest, the practicalities of the 'Rainbow' simply do not extend into these Black (poor) places because the young men are not actively involved in the emergent context, nor do they assert themselves in emergent ways. In the one character that arguably embodies the traits of an emergent perceptiveness, Sox, in *Hijack Stories*, we see the film reinforce the emergent context, while it almost dismantles Sox's ability to be present in it. Sox's search for the macho affirmation he desires outstrips the value of the 'Rainbow', and Zama's theft of the role of 'Bra Zeb' suggests that much of the participation in the 'Rainbow' is quite simply, a deceptive performance.

The young Black men are however not alone in their fixed and seemingly inescapable roles. The characters of Chapter Four, Francois Van Heerden and David Lurie, are also unable to (albeit for different reasons) access the 'Rainbow' in its fullness. While their guilt, shame and loss of power debilitate those characters, the young men of Chapter Five are also incapacitated by the inability to surge beyond residual markers and places of value often still attached to apartheid. Each of these groups of men present recalcitrant identities within the new South Africa that they are somehow unable to escape or reshape. It is for this reason that Chapter Five ends on the note of 'ag shame', applying a mode of 'South Africanese' to these characters that are so impaired in a context that is in principle, so full of hope and possibility.

The findings of Chapter Five offer a rather dispiriting outlook that may suggest the impossibility of an emergent structure of feeling at all. However, Chapter Six presents new possibilities through engagement with representations of unconventional unions. Evidenced through their ability to distinguish themselves from the past, the young women of *Disgrace*, *Elelwani* and *Fanie Fourie's Lobola* represent emergent sensibilities within the emergent context of the 'Rainbow'. In their negotiations of unions, I argue that it is possible to evidence a productive outcome of the TRC. Although elements of the residual structure of feeling are present in certain characters in the films, I conclude that it is because of these residual elements that the new identities are even further emphasised and illuminated. Instead of the young women reverting to old ways of being, they do not only reference new identities, they enact them and their choices contribute to new formations which prove to reconfigure 'Rainbow Nation' identities.

Characters like Dinky, Elelwani and even Lucy, represent the foundational embodiment of the complexities of 'The Rainbow'. While young men seem unable to truly enter and be part of the practical re-imagination of post-apartheid, the women do the work of building that nation. It is thus in their racial, gendered and ethnic differences, that young women are shown to come together and do the work of post-apartheid in ways that further, progress and develop that society.

Just as the different structures of feeling are intricately part of the 'Rainbow Nation', so the thesis, continuously in each section, returned to the question of the validity of a national cinema. The introduction set out the aims of this thesis as exploring representations of 'The Rainbow', meaning the new nation of South Africa after 1994. In previous scholarship, focus has been relatively clear around the formal

modalities of the structures put in place for the cinema of the new nation (like the NFVF). This thesis set out to probe the construction of this 'rainbow' within the 'Rainbow'. By this I mean that, as pointed out in the introduction, structures like the NFVF were put in place to promote South African films and place their emphasis on films that show and deal with the history of the country.

In this thesis's critical contextualisation of films I have also considered the role of historiography in thinking about how these films contribute to the ways in which South African history is 'written' and remembered. Employing historiography in a sustained manner was beyond the scope of this thesis but is noted here as something for future consideration.

Part of the aim of the thesis has been to unpack what a selection of films which deal with the apartheid past and present show about the country, and to question how the films deal with the official rhetoric of 'Rainbow Nation'. Despite the fact that some of the films are hopeful and others critical, they all intersect around one common concern: an exploration of new and shifting South African identities. In light of this then, I prefer not to use the term 'national cinema' for films about South Africa and instead see the themes they present as indelibly linked to the structures of feeling identified in the characters. It is through an identification and articulation of structures of feeling, that the common thread becomes analytically more compelling because analysis can engage a range of broad questions without making assumptions about *a* cinema of *a* nation.

This thesis has considered the conscious persistence of old identities in post-apartheid films, as well as new identities which represent an emergent sensibility in the reconstruction of a new state. Although the state sponsored 'emergent', 'Rainbow

Nation' rhetoric has in some ways failed and paralysed post-apartheid identities, the thesis has also identified successes. The blockages around 'Rainbow Nation' also appear more discernible in popular culture than in films specifically, and this is something that must be acknowledged as a limitation. However, what the films have proven is that trauma can be identified in the representations of the traumatic apartheid past in the films of Section Two. The thesis has also proven that there are specific ways in which a pre-emergent and emergent structure of feeling can be identified within the emergent context of post-apartheid. This distinction between pre-emergent and emergent within an emergent post-apartheid context is vital to the conclusion of the thesis as it points to some of the incompatible signs of the new nation. The thesis was also able to show, as popular culture might not address with such specificity, the place of recalcitrant old identities also within the 'Rainbow Nation'. The thesis concludes on this ambiguous note, which the films have proven is truly the dominant experience of post-apartheid South Africa. While there are some successes, there are also many incomplete and inarticulate ways of being part of the 'Rainbow Nation'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aanerud, Rebecca, "Fictions of Whiteness: Speaking the Names of Whiteness in U.S. Literature" in Ruth Frankenberg (ed.), *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 35 – 59.

Abbas, Ackbar, "Hong Kong" in Hjort, Mette and Petrie, Duncan (eds.), *The Cinema of Small Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 113 – 126.

Adorno, Theodor, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

Afolayan, Funso, *Culture and Customs of South Africa* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004).

Ahmed, Sara, "Affective Economics", *Social Text* 22:2 (2004), pp. 117 – 139.

- *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

Amadiume, Ifi and An-Nam Abdullah (eds.), *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000).

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

Andrews, Dudley, "An Atlas of World Cinema" in Stephanie Dennison and Song Hwee Lim (eds.), *Remapping World Cinema* (Wallflower Press: London, 2006), pp. 19 – 29.

Ansell, Nicola, "'Because It's Our Culture!' (Re)negotiating the meaning of 'lobola' in Southern African Secondary Schools", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27:4 (December 2001), pp. 697 – 716.

Attridge, Derek and Jolly, Rosemary (eds.), *Writing South Africa: Literature, Apartheid and Democracy 1970 – 1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Baderoon, Gabeba, "'This Is Our Speech': Voice, Body and Poetic Form in Recent South African Writing", *Social Dynamics: A Journal Of African Studies* 37:2 (June 2011), pp. 213 – 227.

Bakari, Imruh, and Cham, Mbye, (eds.), *African Experiences of Cinema* (London: BFI Publishing) 1996.

Balseiro, Isabel and Masilela, Ntongela (eds.), *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003).

Barnard, Rita, "J. M. Coetzee's 'Disgrace' and The South African Pastoral", *Contemporary Literature* 44:2 (Summer 2003), pp. 199 – 224.

- "Ugly Feelings, Negative Dialects: Reflections on Post apartheid Shame", *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 13:1-2 (January – April 2012), pp. 151 – 170.

Beard, Margot, "Lessons from the Dead Masters: Wordsworth and Byron in J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*" in *English in Africa* 34:1 (May 2007), pp. 59 – 77.

Bennett, Jill, "The Aesthetic of Sense-Memory" in Radstone, Susannah and Hodgkin, Katharine (eds.), *Memory Cultures: Memory, Subjectivity, and Recognition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2005), pp. 27 – 38.

Bennett, Jill *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005).

Bewes, Timothy, *The Event Of Postcolonial Shame* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Bezan, Sarah, "Shame as a Structure of Feeling: Rape and Prostituted Women in J. M. Coetzee's 'Disgrace' and Futhi Ntshingila's 'Shameless'", *The Journal of the African Literature Association* 7:1 (2012), pp. 15 – 24.

Bhabha, Homi (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, "Reviewing Hollywood's Apartheid: *Cry Freedom* (1987) and *Dry White Season* (1989)", *South African History Journal* 48:1 (May 2003), pp. 23 – 34.

Biko, Steve, *I Write What I Like* (Johannesburg, Oxford: Heinemann Publishers, 1978).

Bischoff, Lizelle, "Sub-Saharan African Cinema in the Context of Fespaco: Close-ups of Francophone West Africa and Anglophone South Africa", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45:4 (2009), pp. 441 – 454.

Bisschoff, Lizelle and Van De Peer, Stefanie, "Representing the Unrepresentable" in Bisschoff, Lizelle and Van De Peer, Stefanie (eds.), *Art and Trauma in Africa: Representations of Reconciliation in Music, Visual Arts, Literature and Film* (New York, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2013), pp. 3 – 24.

Boraine, Alex, *A Country Unmasked*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Borer, Tristan, Anne, "Reconciling South Africa/ South Africans? Cautionary Notes from the TRC", *African Studies Quarterly* 8:1 (2004), pp. 19 – 38.

Botha, Martin (ed.), *Marginal Lives and Painful Pasts: South African Cinema after Apartheid* (Cape Town: Genugtig Publishers, 2007).

- *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010* (Bristol and Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2012).

Bromley, Roger, "After Such Knowledge, What Forgiveness?: Cultural Representations of Reconciliation in Rwanda", *French Cultural Studies* 20:20(2009), pp. 181- 197.

Bruzzi, Stella, *New Documentary: Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

Buscombe, Ed, "The Idea of National Cinema", *Australian Journal of Screen Theory* 9/10 (1981), pp. 141 – 153.

Carchidi, Victoria, "South Africa from Text to Film: *Cry Freedom* and *A Dry White Season*" in Simons, John, D., *Literature and Film in the Historical Dimension* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press Of Florida, 1994), pp. 47 – 61.

Carter, Erica, Donald, James and Squires, Judith (eds.), *Cultural Remix: Theories of Politics and the Popular* (London: Lawrence And Wishart, 1995).

Carter, Erica, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor: The University Of Michigan Press, 1997).

Caruth, Cathy (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995).

- *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Charos, Caitlin, "States of Shame: South African Writing after Apartheid", *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 10:3 (July 2009), pp. 273 – 304.

Christianse, Yvette, *Unconfessed: A Novel* (New York: Other Press, 2006).

Coetzee, Carli and Nuttall, Sarah, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Coetzee, Carli, *Accented Futures: Language Activism and the Ending of Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013).

Cole, Catherine, M., "Performance, Transitional Justice, and the Law: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Theatre Journal* 59:2 (2007), pp. 167-187.

- *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010).

Coombes, Annie E., *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).

- "The Gender of Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa" in Radstone, Susannah and Schwarz, Bill (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), pp. 442 – 458.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Colour", *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991), pp. 1241-99.

Cunningham, Michael, "Saying Sorry: The Politics of Apology", *The Political Quarterly Publishing Co.* (1999), pp. 285- 293.

Das, Veena, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University Of California Press, 2007).

Dennison, Stephanie and Lim, Song Hwee (eds.), *Remapping World Cinema* (Wallflower Press: London, 2006).

De Villiers, David W., "After the Revolution: *Jerusalema* and the Entrepreneurial Present", *South African Theatre Journal* 23 (2009), pp. 8 – 22.

Diawara, Manthia, *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992).

Dovey, Lindiwe, *African Film and Literature: Adapting Violence to Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

Durrheim, Kevin, Mtose, Xoliswa and Brown, Lyndsay, *Race Trouble: Race, Identity and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2011).

Dyer, Richard, "White", *Screen The Last Special Issue On Race?* 29:4 (1988), pp. 44 – 65.

- *White* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

- “Whiteness: The Power of Invisibility” in Rothenburg, Paula (ed.), *White Privilege: Essential Readings of the Other Side of Racism Second Edition* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2005), pp. 9 – 14.

Elsaessar, Thomas, “Impersonations: National Cinema, Historical Imagination and New Cinema Europe” in *Mise Au Point Online* 5 (2013), <http://map.revues.org/1480>. [Accessed 30 November 2015].

- *Terror And Trauma: Cultural Memory Since 1945* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014).
- “Film History and Visual Pleasure Weimar Cinema”, in Mellencamp, P. and P. Rosen, P. (eds.), *Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1984), pp. 47 – 85.

Eng, David L. and Han, Shinhee, “A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia”, *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 10:4 (2000), pp. 667-700.

Erasmus, Zimitri, “Re-Imagining Coloured Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa” in Erasmus, Zimitri (ed.), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (Cape Town: Kwela, 2001), pp. 13 – 28.

Ezra, Elizabeth and Rowden, Terry (eds.), *Transnational Cinema: the Film Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

Ferrillo, Angelo, “A Space of (Im)Possibility: Ian Gabriel’s *Forgiveness* in Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla and Van Der Merwe, Chris (eds.), *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 2009), pp. 237 – 257.

Freud, Sigmund, “Remembering, Repeating and Working-Through (Further Recommendations on the Technique of Psycho-Analysis)”, *The Standard Edition Of The*

Complete Psychological Works Of Sigmund Freud Vol. XII (1911 – 1913): The Case Of Schreber, Papers On Technique And Other Works (1914), pp. 147 – 156.

Fu, Albert and Murray, Martin J., "Cinema and the Edgy City: Johannesburg, Carjacking and the Post Metropolis" in *African Identities* 5:2 (2007), pp. 279 – 289.

Gallagher, Susan Vanzanten, "'I Want To Say/ Forgive Me': South African Discourse and Forgiveness", *PMLA* 117:2 (2002), pp. 303 – 306.

Galt, Rosalind and Schoonover, Karl, *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Gilroy, Paul, *Aint No Black In The Union Jack* (London, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, Johannesburg: Hutchinson, 1992 (Reprint of 1987)).

Givanni, June, (ed.) *Symbolic Narratives and African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image* (London: BFI Publishing, 2000).

Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla and Van Der Merwe, Chris, *Narrating Our Healing: Perspectives on Working through Trauma* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007).

Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla and Van Der Merwe, Chris (eds.), *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 2009).

Gqola, Pumla, "Defining People: Analysing Power, Language and Representation in Metaphors of the New South Africa", *Transformation* 47 (2001), pp. 94 – 106.

- *Rape: A South African Nightmare* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2015).

Graybill, Lyn S., "Pardon, Punishment, and Amnesia: Three African Post-Conflict Methods", *Third World Quarterly* 25:6 (2004), pp. 1117-1130.

Grundlingh, Albert, "Playing For Power? Rugby, Afrikaner Nationalism and Masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900 – 1970", *The International Journal Of The History Of Sport* 11:3(December 1994), pp. 408 – 430.

Guerrero, Ed, *Framing Blackness: The African American Image in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

- "The Black Man on Our Screens and the Empty Space in Representation", *Callaloo* 18:20 (1995), pp. 395 – 400.

Gunne, Sorch, "Questioning Truth and Reconciliation: Writing Rape in Achmat Dangor's *Bitter Fruit* and Kagiso Lesego Molepe's *Dancing In The Dust*" in Gunne, Sorch and Brigley Thompson, Zoe (eds.), *Feminism, Literature and Rape Narratives: Violence and Violation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 164 – 182.

Gutsche, Thelma, *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895 – 1940* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1972).

Habib, Adam, "South Africa – The Rainbow Nation and Prospects for Consolidating Democracy", *African Journal of Political Science* 2:2 (1997), pp. 15 – 37.

Hall, Stuart, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation" in Baker Jr. H.A., Diawara, M. and Lindeborg, R. H. (eds.), *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. (London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 210 -222.

Hamilton, Paula "Memory and History in Australia" in Hodgkin, Katharine and Radstone, Susannah (eds.), *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2005), pp. 136 – 152.

Hansen, Miriam Bratu, "*Schindler's List* is Not *Shoah*: The Second Commandment, Popular Modernism and Public Memory" in Landy, Marcia (ed.), *The Historical Film: History and Memory in the Media* (London: The Athlone Press, 2001), pp. 201 – 217.

Harrow, Kenneth W. (ed.), *African Cinema: Postcolonial and Feminist Readings* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1999).

Haupt, Adam, "Black Masculinity and the Tyranny of Authenticity in South African Popular Culture" in Hadland, Adrian, Louw, Eric, Sesanti, Simphiwe, Wasserman, Herman (eds.), *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), pp. 378 – 398.

- *Static: Race and Representation in Post-Apartheid Music, Media and Film* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012).

Healy, Chris, "Dead Man: Film, Colonialism and Memory" in Radstone, Susannah and Hodgkin, Katharine (eds.), *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2005), pp. 221 – 236.

Healy-Clancy, Meghan, "The Politics of New African Marriage in Segregationist South Africa", *African Studies Review: The Politics of Marriage in South Africa* 57:2 (2014), pp. 7 – 28.

Heffelfinger, Elizabeth and Wright, Laura, "Conclusion: Intercultural Film in 2009: The Year of South Africa and Pandora", *Visual Difference: Postcolonial Studies and Intercultural Cinema* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011), pp. 174 – 188.

Higgins, Lynn A. and Silver, Brenda R. (eds.), *Rape and Representation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

Higson, Andrew, "The Concept of National Cinema", *Screen* 30:4 (1989), pp. 36 – 47.

Hirsch, Joshua, *Afterimage: Film, Trauma and the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

Hjort, Mette and Petrie, Duncan (eds.), *The Cinema of Small Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

Hodgkin, Katharine and Radstone, Susannah (eds.), *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2006).

hooks, bell, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1992).

Horeck, Tanya, *Public Rape: Representing Violation in Fiction and Film* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

Huddleston, Kate and Fairhurst, Melanie, "The Pragmatic Markers *Anyway, Okay, and Shame*: A South African English Corpus Study", *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 42 (2013), pp. 93 – 110.

Jamal, Ashraf, *Predicaments of Culture in South Africa* (Pretoria: Pretoria University Press, 2005).

Jolly, Rosemary, "Rehearsals of Liberation: Contemporary Postcolonial Discourse and the New South Africa", *PMLA* 110:1 (1995), pp. 17 – 29.

Kaplan, E. Ann and Wang, Ban, "Introduction: from Traumatic Paralysis to the Force Field of Modernity" in Kaplan and Wang (eds.), *Trauma and Cinema: Cross Cultural Explorations* (Hong Kong and Aberdeen: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), pp. 1 – 22.

Kilbourn, Russell J.A., *Cinema, Memory, Modernity: The Representation of Memory from the Art Film to Transnational Cinema* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2010).

King, Brian H. and Mc Cusker, Brent, "Environment and Development in the Former South African Bantustans", *Geographical Journal* 173:1 (March 2007), pp. 6 – 12.

Krog, Antje, *Country of My Skull*, (Johannesburg: Random House, 1998).

La Capra, Dominick, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Lalu, Premesh, "When was South African history ever postcolonial?", *Kronos Southern African Histories* 34(Nov 2008), pp. 267 – 281.

- "Considering History, Memory, Citizenry and their Representation within the Arts: Stefen Jonsson and Premesh Lalu in Conversation, Moderated By Tracy Murinik" in Elvira Dyangani Ose (ed.), *A Story Within a Story, The Gothenburg International Biennial For Contemporary Art 2015* (Stockholm: Art And Theory Publishing, 2015), pp. 208 - 219.

Landsberg, Alison, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Lincoln, Sarah L., "This is my History" in Kaplan, E. Anne and Wang, Ban (eds.), *Trauma and Cinema: Cross Cultural Explorations* (Hong Kong and Aberdeen: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), pp. 25 – 44.

Lowenstein, Adam, *Historical Trauma, National Cinema, and the Modern Horror Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Mafela, M.J., "The First Venda Novel Writers and the Clash of Cultures", *South African Journal of African Languages* 19:2 (1999), pp. 117 – 127.

Magogodi, Kgafela oa, "Sexuality, Power and the Black Body in *Mapantsula* and *Fools*" in Balseiro, Isabel and Masilela, Ntongela (eds.), *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), pp. 187 – 200.

Maingard, Jacqueline, "New South African Cinema: *Mapantsula* and *Sarafina*", *Screen* 35:3 (Autumn 1994), pp. 235 – 243.

- "South African Cinema: Histories and Futures", *Screen* 48:4 (Winter 2007), pp. 511 – 515.
- *South African National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- "Love, Loss, Memory and Truth" in Peterson, Bhekizizwe and Suleman, Ramadan, *Zulu Love Letter: A Screenplay* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), pp. 5 – 17.

- "Foreward" in Bisschoff, Lizelle and Van De Peer, Stefanie (eds.), *Art and Trauma in Africa: Representations of Reconciliation in Music, Visual Arts, Literature and Film* (New York, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd.: 2013), pp. xviii – xxxiii.
- "Framing South African National Cinema and Television" in Balseiro, Isabel and Masilela, Ntongela (eds.), *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003) pp. 115 – 131.

Mamdani, Mamood, "The Truth According to the TRC" in Amadiume, Ifi and An-Nam, Abdullah (eds.), *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000), pp. 176 – 183.

Marx, Lesley, "At the End of the Rainbow: Jerusalema and the South African Gangster Film", *Safundi: The Journal of South African and South American Studies* 11:3 (2010), pp. 261 – 278.

McClintock, Anne, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and The Family", *Feminist Review (Nationalisms And National Identities)* 44 (Summer, 1993), pp. 61 – 80.

McCluskey, Audrey (ed.), *The Devil You Dance With: Film Culture in the New South Africa* (Urbana and Chicago: University Of Illinois Press, 2009).

McEachern, Charmaine, *Narratives of Nation Media, Memory and Representation in the Making of the New South Africa: A Volume in Horizons in Post-Colonial Studies* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2002).

Mellor, David, Bretherton, Di and Firth, Lucy, "Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Australia", *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 13:1 (2007), pp. 11-36.

Mendez, Juan E., "Latin American Experiences of Accountability" in Amadiume and An-Na'Im (eds.), *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 127 – 141.

Mhando, Martin and Tomaselli, Keyan G., "Film and Trauma: Africa Speaks To Itself through Truth and Reconciliation Films", *Black Camera* 1:1 (2009), pp. 30 – 50.

Minow, Martha, "In Practice between Vengeance and Forgiveness: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Negotiation Journal* (1998), pp. 319 – 355.

Mitchell, Joylon, P., *Promoting Peace, Inciting Violence: The Role of Religion and the Media* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

Modisane, Litheko, *South Africa's Renegade Reels: The Making and Public Lives of Black-Centered Films* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

- "Make-ing the Public Sphere: The Public Life of a South African Film" in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30:1 (2010), pp. 133 – 146.

Morris, Rosalind, C., "Style, Tsotsi-style, and Tsotsitaal: the Histories, Aesthetics, and Politics of a South African Figure" in *Social Text* 28:2 (2010), pp. 85 – 112.

Moyer-Duncan, Cara, "New Directions, No Audiences", *Critical Interventions* 5:1 (2011), pp. 64 – 80.

- "Truth, Reconciliation And Cinema: Reflections on South Africa's Recent Past in *Ubuntu's Wounds* and *Homecoming*" in Bisschoff, Lizelle and Van De Peer, Stefanie (eds.), *Art and Trauma in Africa: Representations of Reconciliation in Music, Visual Arts, Literature and Film* (New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2013), pp. 272 – 293.

Murphy, David and Williams, Patrick *Postcolonial African Cinema: Ten Directors* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Musila, Grace A., "Laughing at the Rainbow's Cracks? Blackness, Whiteness and the Ambivalences of South African Stand-Up Comedy" in Obadare, Ebenezer and Willems, Wendy (eds.), *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in The 21st Century* (Suffolk and New York: James Currey, 2014), pp. 147 – 166.

Naficy, Hamid, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Nagy, Rosemary, "The Ambiguities of Reconciliation and Responsibility in South Africa", *Political Studies* 52 (2004), pp. 709- 727.

Ndebele, Njabulo, *South African Literature and Culture: Rediscovery of the Ordinary* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).

Nixon, Rob, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994).

Norval, Aletta, J., "Memory, Identity and the (Im)possibility of Reconciliation: the Work of the TRC in South Africa", *Constellations* 5:2 (1998), pp. 250-265.

Nuttall, Sarah, 2004. "Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg", *Public Culture* 16: 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 430 – 452.

Peterson, Bhekiziwe, and Suleman, Ramadan, *Zulu Love Letter: A Screenplay* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009).

Peterson, Bhekizizwe "Dignity, Memory and the Future under Siege: Reconciliation and Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa", in Opondo, Sam Okoth and Shapiro, Michael J. (eds.), *The New Violent Cartography: Geo-Analysis after the Aesthetic Turn* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 214 – 233.

Posel, Deborah and Simpson, Graeme (eds.), *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2002).

Projanksy, Sarah, *Watching Rape: Film and Television in Postfeminist Culture*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001).

Radstone, Susannah, *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000).

- "Introduction Trauma Dossier, Special Debate: Trauma and Screen Studies Opening the Debate", *Screen* 42:2(2001), pp. 188 – 193.

Radstone, Susannah and Hodgkin, Katharine (eds.), *Memory Cultures: Memory, Subjectivity and Recognition* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2005).

Radstone, Susannah and Schwarz, Bill, "Introduction: Mapping Memory" in Radstone, Susannah and Schwarz, Bill (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), p. 1 – 14.

Ransley, Cynthia and Spy, Terri (eds.), *Forgiveness and the Healing Process: A Central Therapeutic Concern* (East Sussex and New York: Routledge, 2004).

Reid, Julie, "The Remythologisation of White Collective Identities in Post-Apartheid South African Film by Myth and Counter Myth", *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 38:1 (2012), pp. 45-63.

Rosen, Philip, "Nation and Anti-Nation: Concepts of National Cinema in the 'New' Media Era", *Diaspora* 5:3 (1996), pp. 375 – 399.

Russell, Dominique (ed.), *Rape in Art Cinema* (New York and London: Continuum, 2010).

Sachs, Albie, "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom" in de Kok, Ingrid and Press, Karen (eds.), *Spring is Rebellious* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990).

Saks, Lucia, *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: The Race for Representation* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010).

Samuelson, Meg, "The Rainbow Womb: Rape and Race in South African Fiction of the Transition", *Kunapipi* XXIV: 1&2 (2002).

Silber, Gavin and Geffen, Nathan, "Race, Class and Violent Crime in South Africa: Dispelling The 'Huntley Thesis', *SA Crime Quarterly* 30 (2009), pp. 35 – 43. <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/CQ30SILBER.PDF> [Accessed 10 November 2015].

Smith, Rene, "Yizo Yizo and Essentialism: Representations of Women and Gender-Based Violence in a Drama Series Based on Reality" in Wasserman, Herman and Jacobs, Sean (eds.), *Shifting Selves: Post-Apartheid Essays on Media, Culture and Identity* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2003), pp. 249 – 265.

Soyinka, Wole, "Memory, Truth and Healing" in Amadiume, Ifi and An-Nam, Abdullah (eds.), *The Politics Of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000), pp. 21 – 37.

Stadler, Jane, "Tsotsis, Coconuts and Wiggers: Black Masculinity and Contemporary South African Media" in Hadland, Adrian, Louw, Eric, Sesanti, Simphiwe, Wasserman, Herman (eds.), *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), pp. 343 – 363.

Steyn, Melissa, *Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa*, (New York: State University of New York Press Albany, 2001).

Straker, Gillian, "Unsettling Whiteness", *Psychoanalysis, Culture And Society*, 16:1 (2011), pp. 11- 26.

Switzer, Les, "Bantu World and the Origins of a Captive African Commercial Press in South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14:3 (1988), pp. 351 – 370.

Taylor, Jane. *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998)

Thomas, Lynn, M., "Love, Sex and the Modern Girl in 1930s Southern Africa" in Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas (eds.), *Love in Africa* (Chicago and London: The University Of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 31 – 57.

Thompson, SORCHA and Brigley, Zoe, (eds.) *Feminism, Literature and Rape Narratives: Violence and Violation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010).

Tomaselli, Keyan, *The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film* (London: Routledge, 1989).

- "Popular Communication in South Africa: 'Mapantsula' and its Context of Struggle" in *South African Theatre Journal* 5:1 (1991), pp. 46 – 60.
- *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinemas* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2006).

Turim, Maureen, *Flashbacks in Film: Memory and History* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

Tutu, Desmond, *No Future without Forgiveness*, (New York: Random House, 2000).

Ukadike, Nwachukwu Frank, *Black African Cinema* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

Van der Haven, Anton and Arnott, Jill, "The Anxiety of Affect: Melodrama and South African Film Studies", *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies* 35:1 (2009), pp. 162 – 176.

Verdoolaege, Annelies, "Media Representations of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and their Commitment to Reconciliation", *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17:2 (2005), pp. 181 – 199.

Vice, Samantha, "How Do I Live In This Strange Place?", *Journal of Social Philosophy* 41:3 (2010), pp. 323 -42.

Vitali, Valentina, and Willemsen, Paul (eds.), *Theorising National Cinema* (London: Palgrave Macmillan/ BFI, 2008).

Walker, Janet, "The Traumatic Paradox: Autobiography, Documentary and the Psychology of Memory" in Radstone, Susannah and Hodgkin, Katharine (eds.), *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2006), pp. 104 -119.

Walker, Janet, "Trauma Cinema: False Memories and True Experience" in Special Debate: Trauma and Screen Studies: Opening the Debate, *Screen* 42:2 (2001), p. 211 - 216.

Williams, Alan (ed.), *Film and Nation* (Rutgers: The Statue University Press, 2002).

Williams, Raymond, *Marxism and Literature*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

- *The Sociology of Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).

Wolpe, Harold, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: from Segregation to Apartheid", *Economy and Society* 1:4 (1972), pp. 425 – 456.

Zegeye, Abebe, and Harris, Richard, C. (eds.), *Media, Identity and the Public Sphere in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill, 2003).

Articles/ Interviews and other internet references:

NFVF website: <http://www.nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkContentID=57> [Accessed 15 August 2015].

Freedom Park website: www.freedompark.co.za [Accessed 11 August 2015].

Rachel Donadio, "Out of South Africa", *New York Times*, 16 December 2007: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/16/books/review/Donadio-t.html?fta=y&r=0>. [Accessed 6 December 2015].

Anna Maria Monticelli interview with Australian Film Institute: "Adapting Disgrace", 2009: www.afi.org.au/archive. [Accessed 1 May 2013].

Interview with director Ntshavheni wa Luruli: <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-30-insights-into-an-exotic-culture> [Accessed 21 September 2015].

Chigumadzi article, *The Guardian*

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/24/south-africa-race-panashe-chigumadzi-ruth-first-lecture> [Accessed 5 October 2015]; Chigumadzi's recorded speech: <http://www.journalism.co.za/projects-a-fellowships/ruth-first/> [Accessed 2 September 2015].

Article about South African audiences to *Mandela: Long Walk To Freedom*: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25169194> [Accessed 2 December 2013].

Chief investors in local South African film industry: National Film And Video Foundation, Industrial Development Corporation and Department Of Trade And Industry: <http://www.filmmandtvtransformation.org/sa-film-incentives/> [Accessed 5 October 2015].

National Film And Video Foundation Site:
<http://nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkContentID=101&ipkMenuID=25&ipkMenuID=54>
[Accessed 5 October 2015].

Oliver Hermanus interview with SBS, 12 June 2012:
<http://www.sbs.com.au/films/video/2244869603/Beauty-Oliver-Hermanus>
[Accessed 1 May 2013].

Oliver Hermanus interview with Dylan Valley for *Africa is a Country* culture and news website:
<http://africasacountry.com/2011/08/05/interview-with-film-director-oliver-hermanus/> [Accessed 1 May 2013].

Mail & Guardian report on whiteness:
<http://mg.co.za/report/on-whiteness> [Accessed 8 May 2013].

Rapold, Nicolas, "Tough Terrain To Document: South Africa", *New York Times*, 3 September 2009:
http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/06/movies/06rapo.html?_r=0
[Accessed 8 May 2013].

Racial perspective advert: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcWsTwvtyOI>.
[Accessed 10 November 2015].

Transcripts and official government Acts:

Republic Of South Africa, Government Gazette, National Film And Video Foundation Act 1997, Act. No. 73, 3 December 1997:
<http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/a73-97.pdf> [Accessed 10 December 2015].

Group Areas Act:
http://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/group_areas_act.pdf [Accessed 5 November 2015].

Transcript of day 1 of the Port Elizabeth HRV TRC hearing between 21- 23 May 1996:
www.justice.gov.za/Trc/hrvtrans/hrvpe1/day1/htm [Accessed 6 November 2013].

Immorality Act of 1957: <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1957-023.pdf>
[Accessed 31 December 2015].

1985 amendment to both the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act:
<http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Act%2072%20of%201985.pdf> [Accessed 31 December 2015].

FILMOGRAPHY

Core texts

Cry Freedom. Dir. Richard Attenborough, UK, 1987. Main cast: Denzel Washington (Steve Biko), Kevin Kline (Donald Woods), Josette Simon (Mamphela Ramphele), Penelope Witton (Wendy Woods), Juanita Waterman (Ntsiki Biko).

Mapantsula. Dir. Oliver Schmitz, SA/ Australia/ UK, 1988. Main cast: Thomas Mogotlane (Panic), Thembi Mtshali (Pat), Darlington Michaels (Duma), Vanessa Cooke (Mrs. Bentley/ 'the Missus')

A Dry White Season. Dir. Euzhan Palcy, USA, 1989. Main cast: Donald Sutherland (Ben Du Toit), Janet Suzman (Susan Du Toit), Winston Ntshona (Gordon Ngubene), John Kani (Stanley Makhaya), Susan Sarandan (Melanie Bruwer), Thoko Ntshinga (Emily Ngubene), Bekhithemba Mpofu (Jonathan Ngubene), Rowen Elmes (Johan Du Toit).

Zulu Love Letter. Dir. Ramadan Suleman, SA/ France/ European Union, 2004. Main cast: Pamela Nomvete (Thandeka Khumalo), Mpumi Malatsi (S'mangaliso Khumalo), Sophie Ngcina (Me'Thau), Lerato Moloi (Dineo Tau).

Forgiveness. Dir. Ian Gabriel, SA/ Netherlands/ Sweden, 2004. Main cast: Arnold Vosloo (Tertius Coetzee), Zane Meas (Hendrik Grootboom), Denise Newman (Magda Grootboom), Quanita Adams (Sannie Grootboom), Christo Davids (Ernest Grootboom), Jeremy Crutchley (Father Dalton).

Red Dust. Dir. Tom Hooper, UK/ SA, 2004. Main cast: Hilary Swank (Sarah Barcant), Chiwetel Ejiofor (Alex Mpondo).

In My Country. Dir. John Boorman, USA/ UK/ SA, 2004. Main cast: Juliette Binoche (Anna Malan), Samuel L. Jackson (Langston Whitfield), Menzi Ngubane (Dumi Mkhaliipi).

Disgrace. Dir. Steve Jacobs, Australia, 2008. Main cast: John Malcovich (David Lurie), Jessica Haines (Lucy Lurie), Eriq Eboliaemy (Petrus), Antoinette Engel (Melanie Isaacs), Buyami Duma (Pollux).

Skoonheid. Dir. Oliver Hermanus, SA/ France, 2011. Main cast: Deon Lotz (Francois van Heerden), Charlie Keegan (Christian Roodt), Michelle Scott (Elena van Heerden).

Tsotsi. Dir. Gavin Hood, SA/ UK, 2005. Main cast: Presley Chweneyagae (Tsotsi), Terry Pheto (Miriam), Rapulana Seiphemo (John Dube), Nambitha Mpumlwana (Pumla Dube).

Hijack Stories. Dir. Oliver Schmitz, Germany/ UK/ SA, 2001. Main cast: Rapulana Seiphemo (Zama), Tony Kgoroge (Sox Moraka).

Elelwani. Dir. Ntshaveni wa Luruli, SA, 2012. Main cast: Florence Masebe (Elelwani), Ashifashabba Muleya (Vele), Mother (Salome Mutshinya), Father (Samson Ramabulana).

Fanie Fourie's Lobola. Dir. Henk Pretorius, SA, 2013. Main cast: Eduan van Jaarsveldt (Fanie Fourie), Zethu Dlomo (Dinky Magubane), Motlatsi Mafatshe (Mandla), Jerry

Mofokeng (Dinky's Father – Dumisane Magubane), Marga van Rooy (Fanie's Mother – Louise Fourie), Yule Masiteng (Petrus), Richard van der Westhuizen (Fanie's uncle).

Secondary Texts

E'Lollipop. dir. Ashley Lazarus, SA, 1975.

Forrest Gump. dir. Robert Zemeckis, USA, 1994.

Sarafina. dir. Darrell Roodt, SA/ France/ UK/ USA, 1992.

Cry, the Beloved Country. dir. Darrell Roodt, SA/ USA, 1995.

Long Nights Journey Into Day. dir. Frances Reid and Deborah Hoffmann, SA, 2000.

Ubuntu's Wounds. dir. Sechaba Morejele, 2001.

Yesterday. dir. Darrell Roodt, SA, 2004.

Homecoming. dir. Norman Maaake, 2005.

The Act of Killing. dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Denmark/ Norway/ UK, 2012.

The Look of Silence. dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Denmark/ Indonesia/ Finland/ Norway/ UK/ Israel/ France/ USA/ Germany/ Netherlands, 2014.

Jerusalem. dir. Ralph Ziman, SA, 2008.

Skin. dir. Anthony Fabian, UK/ SA, 2008.

White Wedding. dir. Jann Turner, SA, 2009.

Invictus. dir. Clint Eastwood, USA, 2009.

Four Corners. dir. Ian Gabriel, SA, 2013.

Chappie. dir. Neill Blomkamp, USA/ Mexico, 2015.

District Nine. dir. Neill Blomkamp, USA/ NZ/ Canada/ SA, 2009.

Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom. dir. Justin Chadwick, UK/ SA, 2013.

Mandela, the Myth and Me. dir. Khalo Matabane, SA/ Germany, 2013.